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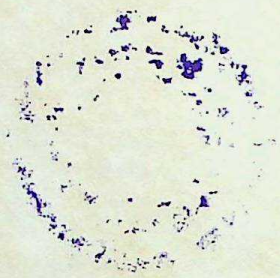

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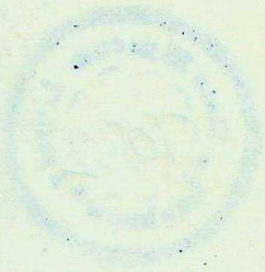

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INDIAN CULTURE

(Journal of the Indian Research Institute)

Edited by

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OPINIONS ON THE "INDIAN CULTURE"

Dr. W. Stede.—The new magazine is a very admirable undertaking, embodying the best product of intellect of our Indian colleagues and fellow students. I cannot but pay the highest tribute of admiration to this new publication.

Dr. F. O. Schrader.— . . . admirable . . . shows the high standard which is expected of a scientific journal and astonishes one by the richness of its contents.

Mons. Louis Finot.— . . . full of interesting matter and forebodes a bright future. My best congratulations for this success!

Dr. M. Winternitz.—I congratulate you and your collaborators on the publication of No. 3 of *Indian Culture* which is again full of interesting matter relating to various branches of Indology.

Dr. Louis de la Vallée Poussin.— . . . contains many good things. I am much interested by the remarks of Prof. Winternitz on the Śramaṇa-Literature. It is the most interesting and useful journal for philosophy and history.

Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most interesting number and if the standard of achievement is maintained you will have secured a very valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals issued in India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, *C.I.E.*—May I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your *Indian Culture* and my congratulations upon the completion of a whole volume, with Index and Table of Contents—a very important appendage? The volume contains a large number of articles of a scholarly and serious character, and *is a credit to India.* Many of the authors of the articles are old friends of mine, and I would gladly plunge into the fray again, if I could only get free from my present entanglement in Central Asian studies. You have an army of capable contributors.

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—The *Indian Culture,* I am glad to see, still maintains the same high level of scholarly excellence.

Dr. J. Przyluski.— . . . Fine Journal . . . . .

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the standard being maintained by the *Indian Culture* and the success you have achieved with this Journal.

Mr. C. W. Gurner, *I.C.S.*— . . . a publication of a very high standard.

Director, Archæological Department, Hyderabad-Deccan.—I congratulate you heartily on the excellence of the articles published in the first number and I hope the standard will be maintained under your able management.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient History of India and her great culture. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make Indian Culture rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch making journal, the Indian Antiquary. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the Indian Antiquary, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India to-day. We wish it all success.

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SOUTH INDIAN CUSTOMS IN THE SMṚTIS

By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Hindu Law-books are generally known as Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, and are traditionally believed to have their basis in the Śruti or the Vedas. In ancient India the king's position was not to make laws but to administer laws already made by sages and seers. Though the king, or the legislature for the matter of that, could not make laws, still in the march of time the sources of law increased in number. The sources were primarily the Śruti, Smṛti, and Śiṣṭācāra. Some of the subsidiary sources were adjudication, judicial decision, nyāya, mīmāmsa, royal edicts and local usages.[1] Thus we see from the growing multiplication of sources of law, that the ancient seers felt the necessity to introduce fresh legislation according to the emergencies of the time, and these came to be accepted as law proper by the community. This fresh legislation must have had the approval of the śiṣṭās of the realm. This came to be known as śiṣṭācāra or sadācāra. Added to this and much more important to our present enquiry is the recognition of local usages by the Smṛtikartas.[2] In other words, the peculiar customs of the community came to be recognized as legal and therefore binding on the community. The observance of a custom peculiar to a community was enforced, and any violation was ordinarily visited with punishment. The ancient law-givers realized that in a vast country like that of India there could be a number of communities, each with its peculiar customs and usages. Therefore it was ruled by Hindu legislators that what applied to one community need not necessarily apply to another.[3] In fact the authors of the Smṛti make it abundantly clear that the customs of Dākṣiṇātyas should be followed by the peoples of Dekhan and South India, and should not be followed by the peoples of Northern India.

---

[1] See my Hindu Administrative Institutions, pp. 216-7.

[2] Gautama XI. 19. 26 : Manu VIII. 41 and 46 ; Yājñ. I. 3 and 7.

[3] इतरदितरस्मिन् कुर्वन् दुष्यति इतर इतरस्मिन् । तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् ।
Baudh. Dh. Sūtra I. 21.

On this Mādhavācārya comments : इतरो दाक्षिणात्य इतरस्मिन् उत्तरदेशे मातुलसुषमन्यं कुर्वन् दुष्यति । न स्वदेशे । तथेतर उदीच्य इतरस्मिन् दक्षिणदेशे सौधुपानादिकं कुर्वन् दुष्यति । न स्वदेशे । कुतः ? देशप्रामाण्यात् ।

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In the same way it is illegal for the peoples of Northern India not to observe their usages and practices. In this connection Devala,[1] a Smṛtikarta, quoted by Mādhava observes that the Smṛti does not accept all sorts of usages but it countenances such of those customs as are healthy (nyāyadṛṣṭa) and of good intentions. The *vyavastha* or establishment of law depended on the *viṣayas* or healthy usages which are the consequences of territorial and geographical circumstances. Thus it is seen that the law-givers who framed laws at different times usually respected the customs and usages of the locality provided such customs and usages had their basis in *dharma*. Says Bhṛgu[2] that in whatever country, town, village or city, whatever *dharma* is followed, that must be maintained in tact.

One of the earliest legislators, and a member of the Taittirīya śākha, Baudhāyana who flourished much anterior to Āpastamba who is said to have lived in the 5th century B.C., was one of those law-makers who respected the authority of local customs and legislated accordingly. Baudhāyana then distinguishes sharply the southern customs from the northern[3] and is willing to let the respective communities to follow their age-long practices of a healthy character. Among others Baudhāyana refers in his Dharmaśūtra to five customs or practices prevalent in South India and lends the weight of his authority by accepting them as legal. The following is a list of these customs[4]:—

1. Taking food with one uninitiated (*anupanītena saha bhojanam*).
2. Taking food with one's wife (*bhāryaya saha bhojanam*).
3. Eating rice cooked overnight and perhaps soaked in water (*Paryuṣita bhojanam*).
4. Marriage between a person and the daughter of his maternal uncle (*mātula duhitṛ gamanam*).
5. Marriage between a person and the daughter of his father's sister (*Pitṛsvasṛduhitr gamanam*).

---

1 यस्मिन् देशे य आचारो न्यायदृष्टः सुकल्पितः ।
स तस्मिन्नेव कर्तव्यो न तु देशान्तरे स्मृतः ॥

2 यस्मिन् देशे पुरे ग्रामे वैविद्यो नगरेऽपि वा ।
यो यत्र विहितो धर्मस्तं धर्मं न विचालयेत् ॥ quoted by Mādhava.

3 The five northern customs are dealing in wool, drinking liquor, selling animals which have teeth in the upper and lower jaws, sale of arms and travelling by sea. I. 1. 20—*Baudhāyana Dh. sūtra*.

4 I. 1. 19 Mysore Oriental Series.

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Let us take up each of these above and examine them. The prohibition in eating with the uninitiated seems to be with those who have not been initiated at the proper time. For Viṣṇu [1] has prescribed in the case of Brahmans, for example, that initiation should take place in the eighth year after birth, and it should not be delayed on any account beyond the sixteenth year. He who has not performed the ceremony of initiation either at his eighth year or before he was sixteen years old, is considered to be a *vrātya*. And who is a *vrātya*? He is a *vrātya* who loses his caste by his failure to observe *samskāras* enjoined on him by the Dharmaśāstra. (व्रातात् समूहात् च्यवति यत्). And initiation or investiture with sacred thread is a very important *samskāra* for a twice-born. Much significance was then attached to the *Upanayana samskāra* as it is even to-day. So the law prescribes that one must regard the uninitiated as an outcaste,[2] and must not, therefore, eat in his company. It appears that the custom has prevailed in the days of Baudhāyana in South India,—which, according to the commentator Govindaswāmi,[3] is the region between the Narmadā and Cape Comorin,—to entertain even the uninitiated as one not having lost his caste but one within the caste. In other words, the southerners of the days of Baudhāyana did not strictly adhere to the rules of *Varṇadharma* and *āśramadharma*. This was roughly about the seventh century B.C. or even before.[4]

The second custom which Baudhāyana marks as a purely southern one is the eating of the husband in the company of his wife. According to the prescriptions of the law-books a wife looks upon her husband as her lord and as a deity. She who does not do this falls from the ideal of a true wife.[5] When it is prescribed that a wife should eat after the husband has taken his meals,[6] the law is explicit that as god she must first feed him and look to his needs and comforts. In other words, after the husband takes his meals,—it is normally expected that the wife alone should serve the meals to her husband,—the wife then partakes of the food in the same

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[1] S.B.E., Vol. VII, Ch. XXVII, 15, 26 and 27.

[2] Viṣṇu Smṛti, Ch. 56, 2–5.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 7 (Mysore Oriental Series).

[4] See P. T. S. Ayyangar, History of the Tamils, pp. 116–18.

[5] Manu says: 'Let him not eat in the company of his wife, nor look at her while she eats, sneezes, yawns or sits at her ease.'

नाश्नीयाद्भार्यया सार्धं नैनामीक्षेत चाश्नतीम् ।
क्षुवतीं व्यभमाणां वा न चासीनां यथासुखम् ॥

IV, 43 cp. Yājña I. 131.

[6] For instance, Viṣṇu Smṛti, Ch. 57, 38 and Chap. 48, 46.

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leaf or dish in which food was served to him. This custom is no doubt largely prevalent in South India to-day though the *smṛtis* do not refer to the convention of eating in the same leaf or dish used by the husband. But Baudhāyana found in his time the wife sitting side by side with the husband and eating. As a good legislator he did not interfere in the custom of the country and approved it as peculiar to South India. It is to be inferred from this that women of South India in about the seventh century B.C. enjoyed much more freedom than their sisters in North India. They were a factor to be reckoned with in South Indian social life.

The third custom is eating of stale food as the translator would have it. The term *paryuṣita* means much more than that. Light comes from the celebrated commentators to the Śrimad *Bhagavad Gītā*. In commenting on the term *paryuṣitam*,[1] Śri Śankara says पक्वं सद् रात्र्यन्तरितं च यत्. This is further quoted by Nīlakaṇṭa and Madhusūdana who have also commented on the Gītā. Yet another commentator Śrīdhara renders the expression, दिनान्तर पक्वं।

This means that it was food cooked and kept overnight and eaten next day. What is generally done is that cooked food is put into a pot or vessel and cold water poured in it so that the food gets soaked throughout the night. Next morning that rice is eaten, and even the water in which rice is soaked is drunk. In a hot place like South India, this practice has been found quite agreeable and healthy to those who use such food at least as the first meal of the day. It is only regretted that this wholesome practice is slowly but surely dying out. Even Baudhāyana must have appreciated its usefulness certainly from the point of view of health. If not he would have it included under the category of forbidden practices. This practice of taking *paryuṣita* food is referred to in the Vaikhānasa Dharma [2] Praśna.

The fourth custom of the Dākṣiṇātyas accepted as valid by Baudhāyana is the marriage of one with a daughter of a maternal uncle while a fifth is the marriage of one with a daughter of a paternal aunt. These marriage alliances are still in vogue in South India. Here the term *mātula duhitṛ gamanam* has been rightly interpreted by Dr. G. Bühler as marriage of cousins, and this has been questioned by the late P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar [3] who renders it as 'indulgence

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1 यातयामं गतरसं पूति पर्युषितं च यत्।
उच्छिष्टमपि चामेध्यं भोजनं तामसप्रियम्॥ 17. 10.

2 P. 30 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series).

3 History of the Tamils, pp. 118-9.

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in love-passages by a man and the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sisters'. It is clearly a wrong interpretation and no sane law-giver would countenance such practices. In support of Dr. Bühler we can quote a number of authorities. Govindaswāmi interprets *gamanam* as *sambandha*. *Sambandha* is a term of much significance. Even to-day the marriage goes by the name of *sambandha*. In this sense of matrimonial alliance Kālidāsa has used the expression.[1] The great Bhāsa has again expressed it in the same sense.[2] Towards the end of the VI Act of the Uttararāmacarita the dramatist Bhavabhūti uses *sambandha* in the sense of matrimony.[3] The other authority who interprets is Mādhavācārya who has elaborately commented on Parāśaradharmasamhita. He substitutes the word *pariṇayanam* for *gamanam*.[4] Mādhavācārya goes into a lengthy disquisition about the validity or otherwise of such matrimonial alliances, and examines the relevant texts of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Paiṭhīnasi, and others, where it is explicitly stated that matrimonial alliances could be contracted after the fifth degree on the mother's side and seventh degree on the father's side.[5] Marriages with *sapiṇḍas* are forbidden (Manu, III. 5). If a certain person marries the daughter of his maternal uncle, he should perform the expiatory ceremony of *cāndrāyanam*.[6] This seems to have been a Vedic custom, and has gradually gone out of use in the predharmaśāstra period. It is said in the Ṛg. Veda samhita in addressing Indra to accept sacrificial offerings, 'accept this offering with pleasure, as one would accept the daughter of his maternal uncle and the daughter of his paternal aunt in marriage'. This

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[1] Kumārasambhava, VI, 29 and 30.

[2] Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, p. 65 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar thinks that the word *sambandha* is used in the peculiar *malayali* sense. There is no warrant for this. On the other hand one can say that the Malayalis use the expression in its correct sense. (See his *intro.*, p. 26 to Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi (Madras, 1926).

[3] संबन्धस्पृहणीयताप्रमुदितैर्जुष्टेवसिष्टादिभिः
दृष्ट्वापत्यविवाहमङ्गलमहे तत् तातयोः संगतम् ।
पश्यन्नीदृशमीदृशे पितृसखं वृत्ते महावैशसे
दीर्ये किं न सहस्रधाहमथवा रामेण किं दुष्करम् ॥

See also Mahāvīracaritam, Act I, Verse 59.

[4] P. 67, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Vol. I, Pt. II.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 60 sq.

[6] Śātātapa quoted by Mādhavācārya, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

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text [1] undoubtedly points to the prevalence of such customs in the Vedic period. That such practices were the norm and were not transgressions of law even in the epoch of the epics is evidenced by the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. We know that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna married their maternal cousins, these being Rukmiṇī and Subhadrā.[2] As examples of marriages with paternal cousins again the Bhāgavata Purāṇa may be quoted. It is said that Kṛṣṇa married Mitravindā of Avanti, and Bhadrā of Kekayas, and both were his paternal cousins.[3] Though such alliances were debarred by law later on in the post-vedic period, still they persisted in Tamil land and were so popular that law-givers like Baudhāyana could not easily trifle with them. Do we not read again in Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's [4] *Tantravārtika* that a southerner is generally pleased by taking the daughter of his maternal uncle in wedlock? In the previous page, besides referring to marriage of cousins among the southerners, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa notes another custom of theirs, viz., eating food while sitting on chairs. In continuation of this statement Kumārila Bhaṭṭa gives certain other customs common to both North and South which, however, have no authority in the Smṛtis. These are:—

1. The partaking of the food left by one's friends or relations.
2. Taking of betels touched by people of all castes.
3. The non-washing of the mouth after meals.
4. The wearing of clothes brought directly from the back of the washerman's ass.
5. The keeping in society of people committing the great crimes, with the sole exception of killing a Brahman.[5]

Though there is a consensus of opinion that Hindu law is rigid and unchangeable, yet the fact seems to be otherwise. Different kinds of legislation were introduced by the authors of Dharmaśāstras

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[1] छायाद्वीन्द्र पथिभिरौकितेभिर्
यन्नमिभं नो भागधेयं जुषस्व ।
दृप्तां जहर्मातुलस्येव योषा
भागस्ते पैत्र्यसेयि वपामिव ॥ VII. 55. 8 (Khila)

See also Nirukta, Pariśiṣṭa 14. 31. ed. by L. Sarup, p. 241.

[2] By the time of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa this has become a transgression of law. See pp. 192–4 of the translation of *Tantravārtika*.

[3] (See X. Ch. 58, 31 and 56 Kumbhakonam edition).

[4] I. iii, sūtra 7, p. 129 of Benares Sanskrit series, 1903. This work has been translated by the learned Dr. Ganganath Jha and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 128 and translation, p. 183.

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and Dharmasūtras as would be suitable and acceptable to the various communities. These great legislators made it a point not to interfere with family and local customs, for they seem to have realized that religion depends largely on the dictates of a certain individual's conscience. Whatever usage was auspicious, that was followed, and the author of the Mānavadharmaśāstra encourages it.[1] Nārada, another Smṛtikāra, goes still further and gives it as his opinion,[2] that, custom can even overrule the law that is established and that is deemed sacred. Thus it is manifest that the charge which is sometimes levelled that the laws of the Hindus are not sufficiently elastic is positively far from the truth, and the ancient legislators showed a willingness and readiness to adjust and frame laws according to the traditions maintained by a family or in a certain territorial unit.

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1 सङ्कल्पाचारयुक्तः स्यात्प्रयतात्मा जितेन्द्रियः।
.. ..
सङ्कल्पाचारयुक्तानां नित्यं च प्रयतात्मनाम्
जपतां जुह्वतां चैव विनिपातो न विद्यते॥ IV. 145-6.

2 I. 40.

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CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE OF DELHI, (1206-1290 A.D.)

By Aziz Ahmad

Introduction

An imaginative reconstruction of the organization of the 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' has some of its own unsurpassable difficulties. Not only that the subject is many-sided, but its problems have not received a systematic treatment at the hands of the contemporary chronicles. The medieval historian takes a keen interest in narrating the historical events—a vivid expression of the king's personality, his wars, conquests and exploits,—but rarely confines his attention to the nature of society or the administrative system of the Empire. Contemporary as well as later authorities are full of official designations, but almost nothing of their functions. Vague and disconnected remarks scattered throughout the texts are the only basis upon which a modern writer has to build his structure upon. What is true of one reign may not be true of another, preceding or succeeding; and what is more wonderful is the fact that a single person sometimes enjoyed a comfortable plurality of posts.[1] Moreover, the same office was called by different names, and very often a change in government saw a corresponding alteration not only of the personnel but of the offices themselves. Printing press was out of existence in those days, and the copyists also added to the difficulties by adding to or subtracting from the texts.[2]

Origin and Theory of Kingship

In spite of the fact that monarchy has had a long and varied existence in the Muslim State; to the *Shariat*, however, it has always remained a non-legal institution. In theory Islam knows no kingship

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[1] Malik Jamal-ud-Din Yaqut was *both Amir-i-Hajib* and *Amir-i-Akhur*. The Vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk Khwajah Mohazzabud-Din Iwaz was *also Mustaufi* (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 192) Amir-Ali-i-Ismail was *both Sipah-Salar and Amir-i-Dad* (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 141). Malik Hisamud Din was *both Sipah-Salar and Wakil-i-dar* (Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi on Zia Berni, p. 119) Malik Nizamud-Din was technically created *Dad-bak*, but he actually acted as *Naib-i-Mulk*.

[2] هرگز از چنگیز خان بر عالم صورت نه رفت * آن ستم کز کاتبان بر اهل معنی می رود

Al-Quran (4 : 59).

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the word Amir or *Ul-ul-amr* (meaning one, i.e. a chief Lord to whom an order is given) is often found in the Quran:—

" اطيعو الله و اطيعو الرسول و الوا الامر منكم "

(Obey God, His Prophet and the chief from amongst you). The idea of sovereignty in Islam is one of the most prominent factors of the Muslim political theory. According to the Muslim theology, sovereignty resides in the Muslim brotherhood, that may confer supreme powers on any *bona fide* Muslim. The Muslim law imposes upon the individual the duty of obedience to the Imam, whose sovereignty is held absolute and indivisible. After the Prophet, there sprang up Caliphate, which was based upon election; but as the empire expanded, the system was changed to a mere ceremony of *bait* or submission. The circle of electors was reduced gradually from the leading men of the town to eleven, five, and even one, so much so that the sovereign could appoint his own successor. In order to reconcile the theory with practice, Mawardi tried to justify this conclusion, and the relaxation in the principle of election led to the recognition of the right of the sovereign to inherit. However, the idea of the ultimate sovereignty of the Muslim people did survive. The first rulers were divine kings such as the Sassanians, who were regarded as 'God among men'. A full fledged Sultanate, however, began with the Khwarazmian Empire, and Mahmud of Ghazna was, perhaps, the first to assume the title of Sultan.[1] The non-recognition of the institution of monarchy bred curious but natural results. In the first place all distinction between the king *de-facto* and the king *de-jure* was lost. Secondly, as there was no place for *Sultanate* in the Islamic political theory, there was consequently no provision for the devolution of the crown. The state could not be regarded as the property of the Sultan. The result was the interminable wars of succession, and an appeal to arms was the only possible remedy to solve the riddle. It was customary for the Sultan to nominate his heir either in his lifetime or on his death-bed; but the king's nominee was almost always rejected.[2] A strong hand, of course, could, with little difficulty, find his way to the throne, and the *Khans*, *Maliks* and *Amirs* perforce made their submission while the weak successors

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[1] Siyasat-Nama of Nizam-ul Mulk Tusi, p. 108.

[2] Qutbud-Din Aiybek nominated Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi; but the Maliks elevated Aram Shah. Sultan Iltutmish made Raziyya his heir-apparent, but the Maliks raised Raknud-Din Firoz Shah to the throne of Delhi. Again Balban nominated Kai-Khusro, but Kaiqabad succeeded him at the instigation of the Maliks. Thus it is incorrect to say that 'the King's nominee was almost always elected'—see Mr. Makhdoomi's article 'Journal of India History', April, 1935.

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fell a prey into the hands of the so-called electors only to be set up and pulled down with the inevitable result of losing their necks. A formal ceremony of *bait* was, however, followed in each case.

The division of the state between Ghias-ud-Din and his brother Shahab-ud-Din was neither sanctioned by the Islamic law nor supported by any precedent. However, it evolved a principle that the state was a private property of the ruler. Muizud-Din died without leaving any son to rule over his empire, and his Turkish slaves were the only heir. On the other hand, the ruler of Firoz Koh found himself unable to impose his sovereignty over the powerful Turkish Maliks. The death of Shahab-ud-Din left the puzzle unsolved. The sovereigns were required to form new theories or to reaffirm the time-honoured ideas regarding the institution of kingship.

The ruler was looked upon with awe and reverence. Excluding the functions of a prophet Balban is said to have remarked once 'there is no work as great and noble as the task of government'.[1] Kingship is a great blessing and the highest office of the world. Kingly office is the creation of God, and is received from Him alone. A king is a representative of God on earth,[2] and the heart of king reflects the glory of God. 'The Creator displays his inner richness by raising at every stage a person from among the created, endows him with all the accomplishments befitting sovereigns and entrusts him with the task of government, so that the people may lead a happy and prosperous life under his just and equitable regime'.[3] A king must, therefore, feel the importance and significance of the glory and grandeur thus conferred upon him and must be grateful to God for this great honour.[4] 'He must seek God's pleasure by doing the virtuous acts, which consist in administering absolute justice to the people—a means of the strengthening of the empire and a way for his own salvation'.[5]

A king must be brave, enterprising, just and benevolent. He should be 'true to his army, benevolent to the subjects, kind to the oppressed, courteous to the virtuous and an abstainer from the evil-doers.[6] He should be neither sweet-speaking nor very harsh. To retain his kingship he must maintain his prestige. Kingly

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[1] Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Berni, p. 27.

[2] چون تو شدی سایه یزدان پاک * سایه فشان باش برین مشت خاک

Amir Khusro in his Qiran-us-Saidain, p. 205 addresses the Sultan as the 'Shadow of God'.

[3] Siyasat-Nama, p. 6.

[4] Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Berni, pp. 70, 71.

[5] Siyasat-Nama, p. 8.

[6] MSS. Adab-ul Harb, p. 50*a*.

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dignity disappears on account of friendship and familiarity; and the result is vice, immorality and sinning throughout his kingdom.[1] Kingly glory and terror of authority contributes more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a strong and stable government. His society should be composed of the virtuous, faithful, wise and sagacious people. He should never grant audience or give posts to the humble or low-born people.[2] The primary duty of a king is to maintain peace and order in his dominion and to protect and patronize the faith.[3] He must keep himself well informed of the condition of his provinces and the doings of his governors.[4] But he should be all the more particular about his personal security, and keep his guards and servants satisfied. 'My first advice to you', said Bughra Khan to his son 'is this: consider Empire as dear but your own life as dearer; for if life is in danger, what is the use of this world.[5] Secondly, hesitate in killing Maliks and Amirs, but convert your enemies into friends by means of liberality, sagacity and kindness'.[6]

The three essentials of kingship are the army, treasury and nobles,[7] the means of success are justice, beneficence, pomp and show. A king must have under his command ten *Khans*, each Khan ten *Maliks*, each Malik ten *Amirs*, each Amir ten *Sipah-salars*, each sipah-salar ten *Sar-khils* (generals) and each Sar-khil ten horsemen or footmen.[8] The assumption of a canopy of state, and to cause one's name to be read in the *Khutba* and to be inscribed on the coinage were regarded as all the insignia of royalty.[9] 'The army should, in no case, be allowed to molest the subjects, and the latter must not encroach upon the rights of the former'.[10]

The Emperor

The safety of the Empire rested upon an efficient management of the Central Government. The working of an autocracy mainly

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[1] Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Berni, p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[3] دولت دنیا چو مسلم ترا است * جانب دین کوش که آن هم ترا است

Qiran-us-Saidain, p. 206.

[4] Zia Berni Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 97 and Qiran-us-Saidain, p. 205.

[5] Zia Berni, p. 152.

[6] Qiran-us-Saidain, p. 204.

[7] باز طلب صحبت یزدان پاک * صحبت الوده رها کن بخاک

Qiran-us-Saidain, p. 208.

[8] Zia Berni Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 145.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[10] MSS. Adab-ul-Harb, p. 50*b*.

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depended upon the personality of the autocrat. The personal character of the sovereign largely contributed to the success or failure not only of the administrative system but to the stability of the empire as a whole. The royal throne was no bed of roses; the iron-hand alone could maintain its hold; while the weak rulers were set up and pulled down with the inevitable result of losing their necks. Such was the case with the successors of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish. Sultan Raknud-Din Firoz Shah gave himself up to debauchery and dissipation, and was ultimately assassinated by the *Maliks*.[1] The next successor, Sultan Raziyya, though endowed with many laudable qualities of heart and soul, had to meet the same lot.[2] Sultan Muizzud-Din Behram Shah proved to be an unassuming, straight-forward but blood-thirsty sovereign, for which he lost his head. Sultan Alaud-Din Masud Shah was beneficient and kind hearted but addicted to sensuality, pleasure and chase; the consequence, however, could not be otherwise. The imperial throne was insecure. Dangers beset it on every side, and the Emperor had to 'live in an atmosphere of perpetual suspicion and distrust. The Assassin's dagger, palace intrigues, and the disloyalty of his officers and close relatives kept the king alarmed. The heretic leader Nur Turk conspired against Islam in the reign of Sultan Raziyya.[3] The *Naib-i-Mulk* Malik Ikhtiar-ud-Din aspired for the throne, and was consequently put to death by Sultan Muizzud-Din Behram Shah.[4] The same sovereign had to face another conspiracy of state-officials, and an attempt to subdue it resulted in the making of an open revolt against the Sultan.[5] The Vizier Mohazzab-ud-Din also entertained high ambitions by establishing the *naubat* and stationing an elephant at the gate of his mansion, but his designs were foredoomed to failure.[6]

The position of a strong ruler, was, nevertheless, impregnable. An autocrat of embounded energies born with indomitable resolution, could successfully hold in check the forces of anarchy and confusion. 'The one great virtue the subjects admired in their ruler was strength; the one fault, they could never forgive him was weakness'.[7] The great and powerful monarchs of the 'Early Turkish Empire' were Qutbud-Din Aiybek, Shamsud-Din Iltutmish and Ghiasud-Din Balban each of whose reigns was marked by achievements of far-reaching importance as regards the founding, consolidating and the strengthening of the Empire.

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[1] Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 184.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[7] Professor Mohammad Habib (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference of 1924, p. 311).

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The emperor was the fountain of all authority. The theory of the 'Divine Right of Kings' was still in the making. He was regarded as the 'shadow of God' on earth (*Zil il lah*),[1] and was ascribed to possess divine qualities and an 'inspired mind'.[2] The emperor was, in actual practice, the supreme ruler of the state, the supreme legislator, the highest court of appeal and the commander-in-chief of the royal forces. There was a wide gap between theory and practice; the *Shariat* was to be his guide; but actually his word was law.

The rulers of the 'Early Turkish Empire' could not, as a matter of fact, depend upon a prestige of an imperial family, high birth or noble lineage. They had sprung from the people, all of them were men of humble origin, and detached from their families in their tender ages were even ignorant of their parentage. They rose to positions of power and sovereignty through sheer force of merit, strenuous efforts or through the slow gradations of office; and their sole claim to the throne lay in their power to hold it in the face of clever rivals. The principle that the crown should be confined to the members of the royal family was applied to the Persian House of Sassan, but the case was different in Medieval India. Sultan Iltutmish and Balban,[3] however, made attempts to monopolize the imperial throne for their respective families; nevertheless, kingship remained a competitive and elective office. Ambitious and enterprising persons did aspire for the throne at the cost of their lives if they failed to achieve their ends. And history provides numerous instances of this kind.

The people, however, regarded monarchy as a necessary and desirable institution for the solution of their social and political problems. Medieval India knew no rules of succession. It was customary for the Sultan to appoint his successor, but his nominee was almost always rejected by the *Maliks* and *Amirs*, who chose the new sovereign by means of a direct or indirect election or by an appeal to arms. The ceremony of vowing allegiance (*bait*) had survived from the Ommayyad Caliphs, and the people played an important part at the time of succession. They approved the

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[1] Zia Berni Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 70, Muizzud-Din Behram Shah was styled ناصر امیرالمومنین 'an ally of the lord of the faithful'. Iltutmish :— یمین خلیفۃ اللہ ناصر امیرالمومنین 'The right hand of the Caliph of Allah and an ally of the Lord of the faithful'. Nasir-ud-Din :— قسم امیر المومنین - یمین خلیفہ اللہ ناصر امیر المومنین 'The side of the Lord of the faithful'.

[2] Amir-Khusro-Khazain-ul-Fatah, p. 186.

[3] See Zia Berni Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, pp. 120 to 123.

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candidature and paid submission to the new ruler. They even used their collective power in case of need, and when Raziyya appealed to them for assistance against Sultan Raknud-Din, the people responded to her call by capturing the *Daulat Khana* and killing Shah Turkan, the Regent of the Sultan.[1] Again the Maliks, Amirs, Sardars, *Ulma* and grandees had all acknowledged Nasir-ud-Din as their sovereign, yet the people publicly pledged their allegiance in a public assembly held at *Kushki Firozi* (the Firozi-castle).[2] The foundation of Muslim kingship in India and the principle of election along with a unanimous recognition of one house to rule are perhaps the greatest heritage of the Early Turkish Sultanate of Delhi. However, it is certain that they failed to evolve a definite principle of succession; yet succeeded in establishing the idea that the Turk was a legitimate ruler of men and 'sovereignty was his monopoly'.[3]

Administrative duties of the Emperor

The Emperor was the centre of all authority; in him resided the supreme powers of the state, and consequently his administrative duties were multifarious. He was the supreme legislator, the highest court of appeal and the leader of his forces. It was physically impossible for the Sultan to look after the business of government all by himself, and the burden of the state could only be lessened by delegating to his subordinates such powers as might conveniently be exercised by them on his behalf. The emperor, however, kept a vigilant watch over the affairs of the state, so much so that no important work could be done without his approval or knowledge. Out of necessity, he established an efficient system of spies to equip himself with all the information regarding the behaviour of his subjects, governors, Maliks, Amirs and officials. 'Curious as it may seem, the fact is, nevertheless, true, that medieval governments interfered more with the life of the people, than any government is likely to do to-day'.[4]

The Sultan was expected to be munificent, liberal and enterprising, well versed in horsemanship and archery; and also noted for his commanding presence and manly bearing.[5] He was further supposed to be the patron of letters and a benefactor of his subjects. He conferred upon his Maliks and officials titles such as *Fakhr-ul-*

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[1] Ibn-Batutah's Travels, Elliot, III, p. 592.
[2] Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 208.
[3] Dr. Tripathi—Some Aspects of Muslim administration, p. 40.
[4] Professor Mohammad Habib (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 312).
[5] See the Character of Iltutmish—Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 165, 166.

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Mulk (the pride of country), *Sharful Mulk* (the glory of the state) and *Qaan-ul-Mulk* (Qaan [1] of the kingdom). The poets recited Qasidas in his praise [2] and received handsome rewards; and foreign travellers expected a hearty reception at his court.

A strong and efficient Sultan was certainly an absolute despot. But the reigns of weak successors were marked by the rivalry of opposing Maliks, who desperately quarrelled for power and predominance, and held a regime of blood and terror. The annals of Early Medieval India are discoloured by a state of constant contention and strife between Turks and non-Turks. The pre-eminence of Yaqut, a non-Turk, aroused jealousy on the part of other Maliks in the reign of Sultan Raziyya. Again her own Turkish Maliks rose in open revolt at the time of her invasion against Altuniah.[3]

(To be continued)

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[1] 'Qaan'—a title of the Emperor of China, *vide* Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Berni, p. 66.

[2] See Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 64; Firishta, p. 67 and Badauni, p. 69.

[3] Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 188.

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CASTE OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE IKṢVĀKUS

By JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

Scholars are not at one about the caste of the Śātavāhanas. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks that they were Brāhmaṇas.[1] While Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has taken pains to prove that they were non-Brahmans.[2] Both the scholars have mainly relied on the same evidence, though interpreting differently, to arrive at their respective conclusions. We shall in this paper discuss their arguments and try to come to a conclusion.

Readers sometimes suffer from not having the references ready at hand. Further, words and phrases torn off their context often do not convey the right sense. To obviate these, we give below the pertinent extract from the Nāsik cave *praśasti* (Inscription 2) of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and its translation by Senart, to which both the scholars have made references :—

Line 5. 'porajananivisesasamasukhadukhasa KHATIYADAPAMĀNA-
MADANASA SAKA-YAVANA-PALHAVA-NISUDANASA dhamo-
pojitakaraviniyogakarasa KITĀPARADHE PI SATUJANE
APĀṆAHISĀRUCHISA dijavarakuṭubavivadha-
,, 6. ṇasa Khakharātavasaniravasesakarasa Sātavāhanakula-
yasapatithāpanakarasa savamaḍalābhivāditacha . . ṇasa
VINIVATITACHATUVANASAKARASA anekasamarāvajitasa-
tusaghasa aparajitavijayapatākasatujanadupadhasanīya
,, 7. puravarasa kulapurisaparaparāgatavipularājasadasa ĀGA-
MĀNA NILAYASA sapurisanam asayasa Sirīya. adhithānasa
upachārāna pabhavasa ekakusasa EKADHANUDHARASA
EKASŪRASA EKABAMHANASA RĀMA-
,, 8. KESAV-ĀJUNA-BHĪMASENA-TULAPARAKAMASA chhaṇagha-
nusava samājakārakasa NĀBHĀGA-NAHUSA-JANAMEJAYA-
SAKARA-YAYĀTI-RĀMA-ABARISA-SAMATEJASA
,, 9. . . . . Siri-Sātakaṇisa mātuya mahādevīya GOTAMIYA BALASI-
RIYA sachavachanadānakhamāhisā niratāya tapadam-
aniya
,, 10. mopavasataparāya RĀJARISIVADHUSADAMAKHILAMANUVI-
DHIYAMĀNĀYA kāritam . . . . .

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[1] *P.H.A.I.*, 3rd ed., pp. 280-1.
[2] *E.I.*, vol. xxii, pp. 32–6.

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Translation

"Who sympathized fully with the weal and woe of the citizens; WHO CRUSHED DOWN THE PRIDE AND CONCEIT OF THE KSHATRIYAS; WHO DESTROYED THE ŚAKAS, YAVANAS AND PALHAVAS; who never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice; ALIEN TO HURTING LIFE EVEN TOWARDS AN OFFENDING ENEMY; the furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice born; who rooted out the Khakharāta race; who restored the glory of the Śātavāhana family; whose feet were saluted by all provinces; WHO STOPPED THE CONTAMINATION OF THE FOUR VARṆAS; who conquered multitudes of enemies in many battles; whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes; who had inherited from a long line of ancestors the privileges of kingly music; THE ABODE OF TRADITIONAL LORE; the refuge of the victorious; the asylum of fortune; the fountain of good manners; the unique controller; THE UNIQUE ARCHER; THE UNIQUE HERO; THE UNIQUE BRĀHMAṆA; IN PROWESS EQUAL TO RĀMA, KEŚAVA, ARJUNA AND BHĪMASENA; liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies; NOT INFERIOR IN LUSTRE TO NĀBHĀGA, NAHUṢA, JANAMEJAYA, SAGARA, YAYĀTI, RĀMA AND AMBARĪSHA; .... The great queen GOTAMI BALASIRI, delighting in truth, charity, patience and respect for life; bent on penance self-control, restraint and abstinence; FULLY WORKING OUT THE TYPE OF A ROYAL ṚISHI'S WIFE; the mother of the king of kings, Siri Sātakaṇi Goatamiputa, who is in strength equal, etc." (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 61.)

Let us first of all hear what Dr. Raychaudhuri has to say. He writes:—

> 'There is reason to believe that the "Andhra", Andhra-bhṛitya or Śātavāhana kings were Brāhmaṇas with a little admixture of Nāga blood. The Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā represents Śālivāhana (Śātavāhana) as of mixed BRĀHMAṆA AND NĀGA ORIGIN. The Nāga connection is suggested by names like Nāgānikā and Skanda-nāga-śātaka, while the claim to the rank of Brāhmaṇa is actually put forward in an inscription. In the Nāsik praśasti of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi the king is called "Eka Bamhana", i.e., the unique Brāhmaṇa. Some scholars, however, are inclined to take Bamhana to mean merely a Brāhmaṇical Hindu, but this interpretation cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Gautamīputra is also called "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana", i.e., the destroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. The expression "Eka-bamhana" when read along with the passage "Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana"

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leaves no room for doubt that Gautamīputra of the Śātavāhana family claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa like Paraśurāma. As a matter of fact, in the praśasti the king is described as "the unique Brāhmaṇa in prowess equal to Rāma".'

If the translation of 'Ẹka-bamhaṇa' into 'unique Brāhmaṇa' is correct, it is enough to show that the Śātavāhanas were of Brāhmaṇa origin. But this interpretation has been questioned. So Prof. Raychaudhuri has read it with 'Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana' and come to the definite conclusion that 'Gautamīputrā of the Śātavāhana family claimed to be a Brāhmaṇa like Paraśurāma. But there are certain difficulties in arriving at that. Firstly, he has assumed that 'Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana' refers to Paraśurāma only. But this is not beyond question. For Mahāpadma Nanda, born of the Śūdrā wife of Mahānandī is said to have also exterminated the entire Kṣatriyas like Paraśurāma.[1] He is nearer in time to the Śātavāhanas than Paraśurāma. Secondly, he has taken it for granted that equality in exploit implies equality in caste. In accordance with this assumption Mahāpadma Nandā also becomes a Brāhmaṇa. Thirdly, it is very doubtful whether Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi has at all been compared with Paraśurāma. If it was so intended, we would have found an explicit mention of it like the two other Rāmas. Rāma of the clause 'Rāma-Keśav-Ājuna-Bhīmasena-tulaparakamasa' being mentioned together with Keśava, no doubt, refers to Valarāma. Again the second Rāma mentioned along with the great kings like Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, etc. is no other than King Rāmacandra of Ayodhyā. It rather appears to us that the writer of the *praśasti* was loathe to compare his hero, who has been described as 'alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy', with the pitiless and revengeful Paraśurāma, the third Rāma.

Prof. Raychaudhuri does not say wherefrom he has made his last quotation above. Whoever may be his authority, this appears to be a mutilated version of Senart's translation of the passage :— 'unique Brāhmaṇa; in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena', in as much as that the semi-colon after 'unique Brāhmaṇa' has been omitted, the comma after Rāma has been converted into a full-stop, and the unquestionable Kṣatriya names of Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena have been deleted. This has been introduced by Dr. Raychaudhuri in support of his preceding statement that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi has been compared to Paraśurāma. But we have shown just now that Rāma here cannot be Paraśurāma.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, following his father, says that the Sanskrit equivalent of 'Ẹka-Bamhaṇa' is 'Ẹka-Brahmaṇya', meaning

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[1] *'Paraśurāma iv-aparo, khila-Kṣatriy-āntakārī'* (*Viṣṇu-P.*, IV, 24).

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'the only supporters of Brāhmaṇs'. Neither of the two interpretations suits the context. We find that before and after 'Eka-Bamhana' the martial qualities of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi have been mentioned. In the midst of these any mention about his caste or religion seems incongruous. So 'Eka-bamhana' must have been put to express some such quality. What can it be? Prof. Bhandarkar, in solution of this difficulty, suggests to us that 'Brahmaṇya' here probably stands for 'Subrahmaṇya' i.e. the warrior god Kāratikeya. In the absence of a better explanation this suggestion is worthy of acceptance. In accordance with this view 'Eka-bamhana' may be translated as 'unique votary of Subrahmaṇya'. Prof. Bhandarkar has also differed in his interpretation of 'Khatiya', about which we shall discuss later on.

The only other evidence adduced by Prof. Raychaudhuri is the one from the *Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā* which has not been assailed by any body yet. It explicitly says that Śālivāhana (śātavāhana) was of Brāhmaṇa origin. It is, no doubt, a good piece of evidence, but rather a late tradition, which requires support from other evidences. We shall discuss this point also later on. The use of Brāhmaṇic metronymics by the Śātavāhanas, a point in favour of their Brāhmaṇa origin, has not been touched by Dr. Raychaudhuri.

Now we shall take up the arguments of Prof. Bhandarkar. He identifies 'Khatiya' with Xathroi (Kathroi) of Arrian, the historian of Alexander's invasion. If really this tribe was meant, we would have found it stated along with 'Śaka-Yavana-Palhava', mentioned immediately after. Surely this tribe was not more prominent than the three well-known races referred to just now to require a separate treatment. He thinks that this tribe has apparently been named by Ptolemy as Kṣatriya. Even assuming this to be true, there is nothing improbable that a foreigner writing from a foreign country will confound the two. But it does hardly stand to reason that the Indians too will commit the same mistake. He further believes with Jayaswal that Kṣatriyas mentioned by Kauṭilya along with the Kāmbojas and the Saurāṣṭras refer to this tribe. It can hardly be accepted that Kauṭilya, an Indian and a contemporary of Alexander, did not know the difference between Kṣatriya and Xathroi or Kathroi, which was known to a foreigner like Arrian. He admits that this tribe is known in the *Manusaṁhitā* as Kṣattṛ and are represented by the Khattris of the modern times. In an inscription of the fourteenth century a Sādhāraṇa described himself as a Kṣatriya of the Kāsyapa gotra. The Professor with Pandit Ramkarna, the editor of the inscription, thinks that this man was a Khattri by caste. It is not at all improbable that an individual member of a lower Khattri caste should try to pass for a higher caste

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of Kṣatriya, but that does not prove that whole of the Khattri caste was known as the Kṣatriyas. In fact the Kṣatriyas and Khattris are found side by side even to-day. Kṣattṛ of Manu is a mixed low-caste born of Śūdra father and Kṣatriya mother. The extant *Manusaṁhitā* is said to have been composed during the Śuṅga period, so it was not unknown to the Śātavāhanas. The distinction between the Kṣatriya and the Kathroi was known in the time of Alexander, in the time of the Śuṅgas and is known even in the present time. How in the face of these, we are to believe that it was obliterated in the time of the Śātavāhanas, in as much as that the *praśasti*-writer should mix up the low caste Kṣattṛ with the high caste Kṣatriya and write 'Khatiya', instead of 'Khati', which is the *prākṛta* form of the former. For all these reasons we are not prepared to accept the learned Professor's interpretation. Even admitting, it does not prove that the Śātavāhanas were non-Brāhmaṇas.

In the above inscription Gautamī Balasrī has been described as 'Rājarisi-vadhusadam', i.e. 'A royal Rishi's wife'. The Professor argues that '*Rājarshi*' is always employed in contradistinction to '*Brahmarshi*' which unquestionably means 'a Brāhmaṇ sage'. So from the use of this term of *Rājarshi*, he wants to prove that the Śātavāhanas were non-Brāhmaṇas. The term, in fact, simply denotes 'a person who is a king as well as a seer', and hence 'a sage-like king'. No question of his caste comes in. So this does not debar a Brāhmaṇa seer, on becoming a king, being styled a *Rājarshi*. This, we will corroborate by a practical example. The sage Kakṣīvat was, no doubt, a Brāhmaṇa, as well as a seer. His daughter, the seeress Ghoshā, calls herself the daughter of a king.[1] So the sage was a king also. Now in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 1), we find that Kāksīvān, a son of Kakṣīvat, is called the descendant of a *Rājarshi*. This clearly shows that the term of *Rājarshi* was not confined to non-Brāhmaṇas. The Professor's conclusion, therefore, is justified neither by the etymology nor by the practical application of the term.

Prof. Bhandarkar explains the use of the Brāhmaṇic metronymics by the Śātavāhanas, such as Gautamīputra, Vāśiṣṭhīputra and Māḍharīputra, by saying that 'in the ancient period ranging from circa 150 B.C. to circa 250 A.D. there were many intercaste marriages, which were not only *anuloma* but also *pratiloma*. The History of the Ikṣvākus of South India clearly shows that the Brāhmaṇs were ready to give their daughters in marriage to the Kṣatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family'. He adds that 'the Ikṣvākus were the Kṣatriyas of the solar race is too well-known to be pointed out'. This wrong impression has unnecessarily com-

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[1] *R.V.* X. 40. 5.

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plicated the matter. To explain this, recourse had to be taken to the unusual custom of *pratiloma* marriage, a custom decried by one and all law-givers. In fact it is not true that all the descendants of Ikṣvāku were Kṣatriyas. There were some Brāhmaṇas also among them. Hārita and Viṣṇuvṛddha are the two well-known Brāhmaṇic *gotras*. Their founders, Harita and Viṣṇuvṛddha respectively, were the descendants of Ikṣvāku. The *pravaras* of the former *gotra* are—Āṅgirasa, Āmbarīṣa and Yauvanāśva, while those of the latter are—Āṅgirasa, Paurakutsa and Trasadasya, and also Māndhātā, Paurakutsa and Trasadasya. Besides Āṅgirasa, all are well-known names of the Ikṣvāku line.[1] We think that these Ikṣvāku-Brāhmaṇas, by becoming kings, considered it more honourable to be known by their illustrious forefather Ikṣvāku, the great king, instead of by their *gotra*-names. This probably accounts for their non-mention of them. Their Brāhmaṇic metronymics show that even when they became kings, they had not wholly given up their matrimonial connections with the Brāhmaṇas. The Ikṣvāku king Vāśiṣṭhīputra Cāntamūla I is credited with having performed the *Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices.[2] This shows that he was a staunch Brāhmaṇist. It is hard to believe that by mentioning his metronymic Brāhmaṇic *gotra* he wanted to show to the world that he was not a true-born Kṣatriya, but an offspring of a *pratiloma* marriage, i.e. a low-caste Sūta.

It is equally incredible that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, a devout Brāhmaṇist, son of a *Rajarshi*, 'the abode of traditional lore', 'who stopped the contamination of the four *varṇas*', should himself be a contaminator, and delight in being described as an offspring of such a contamination, i.e. the *pratiloma* marriage. For all these reasons we are unable to accept the conclusions that both the Andhras and the Ikṣvākus were non-Brāhmaṇas. It may be asked that if the former were Brāhmaṇas, why did they not mention their patronymic Brāhmaṇic *gotra*? This seems due to the fact that they were *anārsheya* or gotraless Brāhmaṇas, mentioned in the *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* (XX. 5. 10).

We shall now deal with the legendary origin of the Śātavāhanas. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has related a story from the current legend as to how Śeṣa,[3] the king of the serpents, begot Śālivāhana on a Brāhmaṇa girl. The story of the *Dvātriśat-puttalikā* [4] gives a similar account. As the father, in the present case, was a deity, the

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[1] *Gotrapravaranivandhakadambam*, Introduction, p. xii.
[2] D. C. Sarkar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 14.
[3] *Early History of Dekkan*, 3rd ed., p. 65.
[4] *Dvātriṁśat-puttalikā-siṁhāsanam*, Jivananda's 2nd ed., pp. 19 ff.

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child must go by his mother's caste of Brāhmaṇa. This is corroborated by the fact that the Śātavāhanas married Brāhmaṇa girls. The name of the queen Nāganikā (Nāga girl) shows that they married Nāga girls also. We find that there were Brāhmaṇas among the Nāgas as well. The *Harṣacarita* (Ch. III) says that King Prabhākaravardhana was on the point of cutting the head of a Nāga of the name of Śrīkaṇṭha, but finding him with sacred thread on, desisted from the act, because he did not like to commit the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa. Besides we find in the epigraphs many Brāhmaṇas with the surname of Nāga.[1] In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (Ch. 136, v. 35), Rākṣasa-Brāhmaṇas are mentioned, so there is nothing to wonder at Nāga-Brāhmaṇas. The epithet of *Nāga-śātaka* or 'the witherer of the Nāgas' shows that they were at times inimical to the Nāgas.

Similar legendary stories are told of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt. Mr. Kirparam has given no less than four legends about the origin of these Brāhmaṇas, two of which point to their Nāga connection. According to one they are descendants of Brāhmaṇas by Nāga girls. According to the other their origin is traced from a Nāga, who assumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa and married a Brāhmaṇa girl and had several children by her.[2] The *Nāgara-khaṇḍa* (Ch. 117) of the *Skandapurāṇa* relates how a Nāgar Brāhmaṇa girl named Bhaṭṭikā was widowed by the Nāgas and how the two Nāgas, Vāsuki and Takṣaka, came to her assuming the forms of Brāhmaṇas to hear her music and carried her away to the nether world. In Chapter 114 of the same *Khaṇḍa* is related how the Nāgas became their enemy and infested their country and how they were freed of them by reciting the incantation of *na-gara* (poisonless), and how after that, their place came to be called Nagara. From this Nagara they are known as Nāgara. Now if these Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, who, according to one account, were the offsprings of a Nāga and a Brāhmaṇa girl, could be Brāhmaṇas, there can be no objection to the Śātavāhanas being Brāhmaṇas, with similar legendary origin.

The evidence of the Purāṇas goes against the above view. Both the Professors have ignored this. Evidently they considered this unreliable. The *Vāyu-*, *Matsya-* and *Viṣṇu-purāṇas* call them '*Andhra-jātīya*', i.e. of the same caste as the Andhras. The *Bhāgavata* calls them *Vṛṣala* or *Śūdra*. According to Manu, Andhras

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[1] *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, pp. 36-37; *E.I.*, Vol. XI. pp. 303 ff. There are Ābhīra-Brāhmaṇas too (*Brāhmaṇotpatti-mārtaṇḍa*, p. 347, Benkat. Press, Bombay).

[2] Rai Bahadur Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, pt. I, p. 182.

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are a mixed low-caste who are to reside outside the village and live on hunting in the forest.[1]

The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (Ch. III. 18) calls them *dasyus*. We think that the appellation of 'Andhra' is derived from the name of their country and has got nothing to do with their *varṇa*.

To sum up, Prof. Bhandarkar has failed to adduce a single piece of evidence which goes against the possibility of the Śātavāhanas being Brāhmaṇas. On the other hand, their Brāhmaṇic metronymics go positively to show that they were Brāhmaṇas. Their legendary origin also points to this. Possibly they were Nāga-Brāhmaṇas without *gotra*. The Ikṣāku kings of South India were the Brāhmaṇa descendants of Ikṣāku.

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[1] *Manusaṁhitā*, Ch. X., vv. 36, 48 and 50.

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TELAKAṬĀHAGĀTHĀ

(Verses on oil-pot[1])

Translated into English for the first time

By B. C. Law

Introduction

The Telakaṭāhagāthā (Verses on oil-pot) is a non-canonical Pali poem dated the 10th or 11th century A.D. containing 98 stanzas written in chaste language. Its author is unknown. The story of this poem can be found in the Mahāvaṁsa (Ch. 22; narrated as briefly as possible), the Rasavāhinī and the Sinhalese work Saddhammālaṅkāra which is a compilation from the Rasavāhinī. The story is somewhat differently narrated in the Kākavaṇṇatissārañṇavatthu. It is apparent from a careful study of the poem that the author was well acquainted with the texts and commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures and that he knew Sanskrit well. Although two stanzas at the end are missing, it is no doubt a Sataka (a poem of 100 stanzas).

As I have pointed out elsewhere[2] that the charm of the style of composition lies in the balanced rhythm of the lines and alliterations, a literary art that is developing itself through the stanzas of much earlier poems as Ratanasutta in the Sutta Nipāta and the Khuddaka Nikāya and the Narasīhagāthā presupposed by the Jātaka Commentaries. The poem is composed throughout in the Vasanta-tilaka metre which is a variety of Śarkarī. Its composition is laboured and wanting in the vigour of expression. It is deficient in the original inspiration and genuine pathos of true poetry and accordingly its appeal to the religious sentiment is very feeble. The style is ostentatiously ornamental and it abounds in alliterations. Upon the whole, it stands as a good specimen of ornamental poetry produced in Ceylon. But the happy choice of words and uniform rhythm of sounds contribute much to its elegance.

The poem contains the religious exhortations of a thera named Kalyāṇiya who was condemned to be thrown into a vessel of boiling oil as he was suspected to be an aider and abettor to an intrigue with the queen of king Kalaṇitissa who reigned at Kelaniya.

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[1] Kaṭāha means a large vessel used for heating or boiling liquids.

[2] B. C. Law, A History of Pāli Literature, pp. 622–624.

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The poem is introduced with an eulogy offered to the Lord of Laṅkā. Verses 2–4 touch on the merits of three jewels, Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha.

Verses 6–28 deal with the reflection on death. The world is shown to be always afflicted with fear and grief, and overpowered by anger, pride, delusion and old age. Beings, deluded by infatuation, meet death through ignorance. Birth is the only cause of death, and none is stable in the three existences. Therefore, being diligent and self-controlled, one should practise Dhamma and cultivate the thought of death. One who is so intent on the cultivation of such a thought becomes free from desire, and consequently death cannot overpower him.

In verses 29–43, the characteristics of Evanescence are outlined. The body is compared to a pot of raw flesh, or a heap of foam which is unstable and short-lived. The body is also like the pleasant water of illusion. Mind is very fickle, and beings turn round the existences. The beauty of youth, and all other possessions and enjoyments in the three existences vanish with the approach of death. So one is advised not to long for his life and wealth.

Verses 44–54 deal with the characteristics of Ill (dukkha). The body is further shown to be unsubstantial like hollow stalks and plantain trees. It is regarded as a poisonous stake, the abode of water, fire, wind, earth and serpents, a dilapidated house, or the like. It is the source of impurities of sin, and full of diseases. There is hardly any ill like the suffering of diseases, and there is nothing like old age to make ugly. Death with its sword of old age in hand comes in to strike the body at every moment. A fool whose body does not follow him, performs various kinds of ill for body's sake. Both those who are short-lived and those who are long-lived suffer from ill. Therefore, one should practise Dhamma for the destruction of ill (dukkha).

Verses 55–63 delineate the characteristics of no permanent entity (anatta). It is claimed that soul does not exist in the body which is constituted by the five aggregates and the six sense-organs, which are also void. It is through delusion that one would call as soul this body which is as short-lived as the flame of a lamp and as unsubstantial as a plantain tree. One seeks in vain soul in his body. There is no soul in body which is naturally void and only wrongly supposed to be accomplished. Therefore, one should dwell on the notion of no permanent entity for the removal of all cravings.

Verses 64–77 bring out the characteristics of impurity of the body. The body is regarded as a store of various impurities. It has nine sorts of broken boils and nine outlets and is permeable with flesh, bones, sweat, saliva, excrement, blood, tears, fat and the like.

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It is the abode of various diseases. A fool through delusion is devoted to body and nourishes it committing various sins in this world. He cannot examine the decaying nature of the body, but on death when the body perishes or is devoured by jackals, he only repents. So the wise always keep the body restrained, practise Dhamma which gives all pleasures, and devote themselves to the welfare of others.

Verses 78–83 deal with the consequences of bad conduct. A man who, in this world, willingly takes the life of others, steals others' properties, commits adultery, speaks falsehood, or drinks wine, gets severe and infinite pains in various existences, and sorrows in this world.

Verses 84–88 describe the fourfold Protection which consists of thought on friendliness towards all beings, protection under the threefold Jewel, impurity of the body, and uncertainty of death.

Verses 89–98 explain the causal genesis. Here it is asserted that everything happens from a cause. Ignorance is regarded as the root cause of action. Because of action one meets with the destruction of life. On account of birth beings undergo sufferings like old age, death and so forth. When the root of rebirth is destroyed, sufferings cease entirely. One should, therefore, cut off the net of delusion and acquire wisdom for the attainment of perfection.

Having attained birth among men one should practise Dhamma and know the Norm, preached by the Buddha, for Dhamma is the only blessing to remove all cravings.

This poem has been edited by E. R. Goonaratne for the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1884. In the following pages I have attempted for the first time to translate it into English with explanatory notes, wherever necessary, for the convenience of those who are interested in it. I understand that a word-for-word interpretation in Sinhalese of this poem was printed in Colombo in 1872 which, I believe, is not very helpful.

I

RATANATTAYAṂ

(On the three gems)

Translation

1. May victory crown the Lord of Laṅkā,[1] who goes like a royal elephant, who enjoys the highest enjoyment, who has the

[1] This probably refers to the king of Laṅkā (modern Ceylon), who was reigning at the time of the composition of this poem.

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beautiful, long and fat arms, who likes the association of good persons who is established in the Norm, who is an embodiment of virtue, who has done away with anger, and who is without a stain of pride.

2. Bend your head in adoration to that eminent sage, the best in the world, who is honoured by the whole world, who is the abode of compassion, the source of salvation and the full moon in the sky of the solar race, and who is enlightened in the entire vast ocean of knowledge.

3. Pay homage to Dhamma, which, always exalted by the sage, is the clear line of steps to the abode of the Thirty (i.e. heaven), which is the bridge to cross the ocean of existences, and which is the path of tranquillity, free from fear and all wrong courses of life.

4. Pay homage to the Order, which, always well praised even by one having ten powers,[1] is constantly the field of infinite merits, and wherein something, though small, is to be given with a serene heart, and, after so giving, men obtain much greater benefit.

5. The glory and power of the three gems [2] by which the three worlds attain salvation, are great, and there is no protection equal to the three gems; therefore always seek refuge in those three gems.

II

MARAṆĀNUSSATI

(Reflection on Death)

6. The Lord of Laṅkā, who is solely devoted to the welfare of others, who is without any hankering and devoted to vigilance even during night, and who is the embodiment of compassion, enlightens the world with the desire for the welfare of the world. (Therefore) being intent upon vigilance,[3] practise Dhamma.

7. Rare in this world are men, devoted to the welfare of beings, friendly to the good, and free from indolence.[4] (Therefore) having approached the Lord of Laṅkā, the treasure of virtues and friendly to the good, walk in righteousness, and no more in indolence.

8. Dhamma is the refuge of the three worlds, the best of sentiments.[5] Dhamma is the most precious jewel of jewels in this world. Dhamma is indeed the condition for the destruction of

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[1] Epithet of the Buddhas. The ten (super-normal) powers of a Buddha consist in his mastery in ten fields of knowledge, see *Aṅg.*, V, XXII.

[2] Viz., the Buddha, his doctrine and the Order of Bhikkhus.

[3] I.e. being watchful, protecting one's mind from evils.

[4] I.e. thoughtlessness.

[5] I.e. the practice of Dhamma constitutes the highest pleasure.

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sufferings in the three states of existence.[1] (Therefore) being intent upon vigilance, practise Dhamma.

9. Dispel your drowsiness, think of the immeasurable, full of suffering, evanescence, and essencelessness, give up your delight in the body and the lustre of the old pot. Practise Dhamma, being devoted to vigilance.

10. 'I find no opportunity to practise virtue to-day, I shall do it to-morrow'—there must not be such thought owing to laziness in the practice of Dhamma during the three periods of time as well as in the three worlds. A man having no desire, is free from death.

11. Even as a lump of clay thrown into the air by someone, falls back instantly on the earth on account of its weight, so is it not always certain that to pass into a world is for death, birth indeed being its only cause?

12. When a man falls willingly from the top of a mountain, there can be no reason of his escape from fear in the mid-way. (Similarly) beings proceed willingly to death in the three existences. (Therefore) give up your delight in the objects of enjoyment as well as in life.

13. Even as the showers of rain, being free from thunders and extensive clouds, willingly fall on the earth, so men willingly fall into the terrific precipice of death; for none is permanent in the world.

14. Even as the swift and high waves in the seashore always move destroying the ocean, so beings go to destruction in the terrible abode of death.[2]

15. The mighty death, though obstructed by the royal elephants of a best chariot together with warriors, troops and weapons, destroys, at its sweet will, the three worlds teeming with rice, after always deluding the world.

16. Even as a lamp, struck by a mighty wind, is quickly extinguished, though it may be of powerful light, so in this world, the powerful lamp of a man's life comes to an end very soon by the terrible wind of death.

17. The chief rulers and heroes like Rāma, Arjuna and so on who formerly conquered their enemies in battles, had to plunge their bodies in the terrible flood of death. When the world is destroyed, who else can set himself free from death?

18. Fortune, the earth together with its mountains, various attainments and personal beauty—when all these and also friends,

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[1] The three states of existence are: Kāma- (sensual), Rūpa- (corporeal), and Arūpa- (formless).

[2] In other words, lives of beings are as unstable as the seashore.

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sons and wives are themselves proceeding to destruction, who follows them?

19. Brahmā, gods and many highly powerful heavenly beings, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, great serpents and Rākṣasas,—all these and others, too, fall at last into the flames of death like moths without merit.

20. Those disciples of the sage, headed by Sāriputta, who were pure and always controlled in cravings, and who attained the highest supernatural powers, also fall into the submarine fire of death, just as lamps, struck by winds, are extinguished.

21. Even the Buddhas who were awakened like lotuses, who had clear and beautiful eyes, who were adorned with the thirty-two characteristics [1] and personal beauty, who made an end of all cravings, and who were lords of the world, were crushed by the great and furious elephant of death.

22. The great elephant-king of death shows pity to the deceased, (and) not to the old. It always kills the world for its lovely children and other pleasures just as the wild fire (burns) the wood incessantly and entirely.

23. It is not that the pond is filled with water, and that there is plenty of fuel for fire but that the cruel death, thus devouring the three worlds entirely, does not certainly reach its satisfaction.

24. The poor and uncontrolled world, deluded by infatuation, falls at the most dreadful face of death, and being devoid of wisdom, goes to delight in enjoyment which is to be compared to a dream on the unstable and wavering waves.

25. One is able to overpower death; there is no need of the three worlds. What is the use of sleep that leads to old age and death? Or, is there any man born who should have desire for life and wealth compared to the enjoyment of a dream?

26. Seeing that this world is always afflicted, full of fear and grief, and overpowered by anger, pride, delusion and old age, if one has not even the least anxiety, that terrible death is, indeed, not *fie* to him.

27. Oh mortals! Don't you see death holding the sword of an old age and always striking the three unobstructed worlds? Why are you, unafraid in the three watches of the night, led by sleep? Being diligent, always practise Dhamma that controls cravings.

28. Being self-controlled, always cultivate this thought of death to avoid the evil death. A man who is so intent on cultivation, the desire in him (lit. in his body) vanishes entirely.

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[1] For the enumeration of the thirty-two characteristics, see Lakkhaṇa Suttanta in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (P.T.S.), Vol. III, pp. 142ff.

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III

ANICCALAKKHAṆAṂ

(Characteristics of Evanescence)

29. The old age disfigures the dearer body[1]; serious illness in oneself takes away all strength; death kills the body which is attended not with little enjoyment. What is the good in self-existence?

30. While the waves of diseases, struck by the wind of actions, are broken and the mouth of the sea of life is extended, you are in danger. Don't be careless; get yourself emancipated. Is not the origin of human suffering produced by carelessness?

31. Enjoyments, friends, sons, servants, kinsmen and wife dear as life as well as possession of land and goods,—none of these follows him who goes to the next world from here, like good and bad in this world.

32. Oh mortals! The body-boat, thrown into the sea of existence in the midst of unsteady lightning and thereby tossed by the great wind, breaks through desire in a moment. Acquire with your own hands the best hand begotten wealth (i.e. movable) of merit.

33. The body, though well guarded in many ways in this world, always breaks here like a pot of raw flesh. Practise Dhamma, the means of obtaining the heavenly state. Dhamma which is well practised, brings fruit even in this world.

34. The sages, too, after always finding delight in their dearer ones in the kingdom of gods in heaven, fall therefrom, when their merits are exhausted. All pleasures in heaven as well as on this earth end in separation. Is there then any wise man who will take delight in the pleasures relating to the world?

35. The Buddha together with the company of his disciples, was the universal lord, the full moon surrounded by the host of stars, and also the king of gods whose feet were anointed and marked with the crest of gods. Who is born in the three existences like a heap of foams?

36. Oh mortals! Finding the headdress for sport, the beauty of youth, the association with a dear one like himself and the unsteady lightning, a person, who is fascinated by delusion and infatuated by craving for existence, acts carelessly.

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[1] Here *rūpa* is used in the sense of *Kāya*, the (physical) body, or the corporeal stratum representing a material existence.

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37. In this world, a son becomes the father, a mother's husband the son, sometimes a woman the mother, and a father the son. In this way, the world of beings always turns round, the mind, indeed, always being very fickle on the stage of birth.

38. The gods, too, finding delight in the heavenly pleasure-grove decorated with various blossomed creepers and beautiful goddesses, sometimes reach pain in perils of spreading thorns [1] in the forest of crores of Simbali (=silk-cotton) trees.

39. The superior gods, possessed of the highest supernatural powers, having enjoyed the richest food in golden plates, willingly become dwellers in the region of hell, and also swallow the burning iron-balls.

40. The superior kings having enjoyed an unlimited kingdom and the lord of gods, too, (having enjoyed) the charming heavenly pleasure, sometimes live on the earth heaped with razors.[2] Who, in this world or in heaven, follows the highest pleasures? [3]

41. The superior gods in heaven, who find delight in the dances of the celestial nymphs which were like the moving waves in the Ganges that flowed down from the crest of matted hairs of Maheśvara, fall also in the dreadful Vetaraṇī river.

42. The beautiful and pleasant forests of blossomed sandal trees, full of twigs, creepers and fruits, and peaks of the Kailāśa mountain having entrances of its caves [4] filled with the charming celestial nymphs, go to destruction.

43. Enjoyments are like waves undulated by the unmanageable wind [5] and lives are very unstable like flashes of lightning. The body is like the pleasant water of illusion. Who should take delight in life and non-life?

IV

DUKKHA-LAKKHAṆAṂ

(On characteristics of Ill)

44. What pain is there which is not in the dreadful existences? What being is there who is not a vessel of that carrying yoke?

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[1] By 'spreading thorns' are meant the obstacles of passions to perfection. Cf. the Pali expression: *yaṃ loke pīyarūpaṃ sātarūpaṃ ayaṃ vuccati ariyassa vinaye kaṇṭako ti. Saṃyutta*, Vol. IV, p. 189.
They are grouped into ten classes, see *Aṅguttara*, Vol. V, p. 134.

[2] I.e. full of dangers and difficulties.

[3] Ratha = joy, pleasure.

[4] *-darīmukhāni* = having entrances of its caves.

[5] I.e. to say, both enjoyments of life and waves are unstable and short-lived, their existence being dependent on the favourable external circumstances.

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Being born, he is, as if, overcome by death, disease and old age. Being good and wise, who should long for delight in existences?

45. Or, who is able even to scarcely bear on his palm the terrifying and burning iron-ball? Being wise, who should truly desire here this body which is the origin of ill, a mass of defilements, and essenceless?

46. In this world men have no fear like death, and there is hardly any Ill like the suffering of disease. Likewise, there is nothing like old age to make ugly, but still one finds delight in body through delusion.

47. This body, indeed, being unsubstantial like hollow stalks and plantain trees, kills itself for its own sake, and although carefully nourished, does not follow one after his death like a bad and ungrateful company.

48. Seeing that this body is like a heap of foams, that it resembles a poisonous stake, that it is the abode of water, fire, wind, earth and serpents, and that it is very weak like a dilapidated house, how can a wise man find delight in it?

49. Life approaches its destruction even at every moment. Death with its sword of old age in hand comes in to strike. Likewise the past time does not strike. Likewise the past time does not turn back. Is not this ill in the existences to be considered?

50. In the existences, death is natural for a short-lived one, while a long-lived one has old age and many misfortunes. Thus ill comes from both the conditions as well in the existence. (Therefore) practise Dhamma for the destruction of ill.

51. While those who are wandering about in existences, are oppressed by the mighty fire of ill during their stay in the three worlds, one who does good actions, all himself, has no time for indolence. Oh mortals! accumulate the highest merit.

52. Little is pleasure, like a drop of water on the top of grass; while in all existences ill is like water of an ocean. Even at this, thought naturally arises: 'All the three existences are also entirely ill.'

53. A fool whose body does not follow him, performs here various kinds of ill for body's sake. Indeed, body[1] is always permeable with the impurities of sin in this world. One who continually indulges in body, comes to destruction.

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[1] *Kāya* is made up of elements, finally reduceable into four, viz., earth, water, fire and air. It is therefore regarded as contemptible, as a source of impurity, and as something which one has to get rid of.

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54. Have insight into this body which is a receptacle of excrement, and the source of impurities of sin, having smell of raw flesh,[1] producing acute pains, swords, stings,[2] poisons, snakes and diseases and enduring old age and death, and which is always empty, without substance and condemnable.

V

ANATTALAKKHAṆAṂ

(On characteristics of essencelessness)

55. Who can be so foolish as to deny: 'Soul does not exist in the Five Aggregates [3] and in the six sense-organs [4] which are compared to illusions, plantain-reeds, heaps of foams, waves of the Ganges or bubbles in water.'

56. It is fruitless and unheard of that one would run rather long holding the yoke in a chariot made of horns of hares (i.e. of something impossible).[5] Indeed, one would call as soul this weaker body which is as short-lived as the flame of a lamp.

57. Even as a fool would drink to excess the mirage of water with a vessel of water-bubbles, so indeed through delusion one would call as soul this essenceless body which is as unsubstantial as a plantain tree.

58. He who desires to have the existence of a mirage of water with the perfume of a flower of fig-tree, that fool comes only to grief. One kills only oneself out of self-consideration, (for) soul never exists even in this body.

59. Even as a man while removing the bulks of a plantain tree should not get even a little substance according to his desire, so one should not get any substance (in the body), the Five Aggregates and the six sense-organs being void.

60. Be not corrupted. This body which is ill, evanescent and repulsive, does not surely exist for ever. Look here! there is not even a little substance in it. Do follow the substance righteously and not indolently.

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[1] A smell attributed to rotting corpses in particular.

[2] Seven such stings are given with *rāga-*, *dosa-*, *moha-*, *māna-*, *diṭṭhi-*, *soka-*, *kathaṅkathā-*, at Mahāniddesa, p. 59. See Pāli Dictionary (P.T.S.), *s.v.*

[3] They are *rūpa* (material qualities), *vedanā* (feeling), *saññā* (perception), *saṅkhārā* (co-efficients of consciousness), and *viññāṇa* (consciousness).

[4] By *āyatanāni* is evidently meant here the six inner sense-organs, viz., *cakkhu* (eye), *sota* (ear), *ghāna* (nose), *jivhā* (tongue), *kāya* (body) and *mano* (mind), omitting their outer sphere of six sense-objects.

[5] A hare's horn is an impossibility. So to think of a chariot made of horns of hares is all the more impossible.

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61. In this world, there is no cloth without thread, and certainly there is no being without body. Body is naturally void and short-lived. For one's own sake who else does exist in this world?

62. Even as an innocent deer, seeing a mirage of water from a long distance, and thinking it to be water, runs after it, so it is on surmise that passion comes on to body which is naturally void and wrongly accomplished.

63. Like lightning in the sky, there is no soul in the body which is naturally void and only supposed to be accomplished. Dwell on the notion of essencelessness for the removal of all cravings. Be devoted to this thought and free from indolence.

VI

ASUBHALAKKHAṆAṂ

(On characteristics of impurities)

64. Like a pot filled with many impurities, beings always attend to this loathsome body permeable with impurities of sin,[1] without substance and besmeared with saliva, excrement, blood, tears and fat.

65. A man, having bathed in the entire water of the four oceans and being anointed with excellent perfumes measuring a mountain in extent, cannot attain purity. Dear! what advantage do you clearly see then in one's own body?

66. This very body is a store of various impurities. This very body gets execution, imprisonment and diseases. This very body has nine sorts of broken boils (lit., swellings). Without body there is no dreadful cemetery.

67. Even if what has become excrement (lit., urine and fæces) inside the body passes in excess, coming out of it, the parents willingly shall become merciless and unkind, not to speak of friends, children and wives.

68. This putrid body having nine outlets[2] is, as if, the abode of a crowd of worms, permeable with flesh, bones, sweat and blood. Those who nourish it, committing various sins in this world, are deluded. Alas! such indeed is death.

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[1] Cf. Verse 53, and note.

[2] The nine outlets of the body are 2 eyes, 2 ears, 2 nostrils, mouth, anus and urethra.

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69. A man who always takes delight here in body, which is like an abscess,[1] the abode of various diseases, filled with blood, urine and fæces, and devoured by jackals, that fool repents hereafter accordingly.

70. Dear! a body which is unsubstantial like a heap of foams, having always a disagreeable smell like a cesspool, and attended with fear and pains like an abode of serpents, flows constantly like a broken pitcher with salt.

71. Dear! even as a lotus, grown in mud filled with filthy water, is not to be blamed on this earth, so one, though born in body for the welfare of others, is surely not to be blamed in this world.

72. A body, as of crowds of men and women in this world, is excellent and more perfect in its thirty-two parts. And what is the advantage here in bodies of the wise? Is it not then the welfare of others, as much as one desires?

73. In this way, the body is always to be guarded by all wiser men themselves. Indeed, one who is alive should ever practise Dhamma. Dear! Dhamma, indeed, is like a precious gem, the giver of all delights.

74. Even as in milk, thoroughly mixed with medicine, the power of medicine is manifested as if through its oily liquid,[2] so Dhamma which is practised in this world, goes to the next world like a shadow when one departs from here.

75. The shadow of a body, decorated in a suitable manner, shines forth on a beautiful and clear looking-glass; likewise, beings having performed the highest good, are, as if, well adorned hereafter with that reward.[3]

76. Even as one sucks honey in his mouth, sharp as a razor, so a fool, being subject to indolence through delusion and infatuated with the thought of pleasure, acquires severe pains in his body, the abode of various pains.[4]

77. A fool always acquires pain, when his intentions and desires are impaired and he himself becomes devoted to body.

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[1] Body is compared to an abscess (*gaṇḍa*). Cf. 'Gaṇḍo ti kho bhikkhave imass' etaṃ cātumahābhūtikassa kāyassa adhivacanaṃ', etc. (*Saṃyutta*, Vol. IV, p. 83; *Aṅguttara*, Vol. IV, p. 386).

[2] Expl. I.e. to say, the efficacy of essential properties cannot be destroyed and is bound to produce its result in all circumstances.

[3] Expl. The reward of good deeds shines with splendour on the person of a man after his death.

[4] Expl. A fool seeks pleasure in body but acquires pain instead, his body itself being the abode of various pains. He is like one who even in sucking honey with his mouth, sharp as a razor, experiences pain.

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One who is infatuated, has thought of pleasure in this world. If examined, what is then decaying?

VII

DUCCARITA-ĀDINAVĀ

(Consequences of Bad Conduct)

78. A man who willingly takes the life of others, unwillingly meets with death even in youth hereafter, although he might have possessed distinction in all enjoyments and wealth, and in appearance he might be like Cupid.

79. A man who steals others' properties becomes a beggar hereafter with a broken bowl in his hands, a shaven ascetic, threatened with hundreds of reproachful words, always begging in the house of an enemy and having poor garments in body.

80. One who commits adultery, constantly experiences many severe and inevitable pains, and moreover if she is a woman, she cannot make herself free from womanhood, and if he is a man, he becomes a woman hereafter.

81. A thoughtless being who speaks falsehood, always becomes poor speaking an unpleasant speech, stupid, fool, dumb, and ugly in appearance, and when born as a human being, gets infinite pains.

82. The fools who drink wine like deadly poison, become mad, shameless, poor, constantly sorrowful and grieved, and when born in various existences, are deformed in body.[1]

83. He who does any of these evil deeds in this world, gets severe endless pains in hells for not less than ninety krors of years, and meets with many and various sorrows in this world.

VIII

CATURĀRAKKHĀ

(The fourfold Protection)

84. In all the three existences, there is nothing equal to the threefold jewel to pacify the world. By that very great power I

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[1] Expl. Here the evil effect of drinking wine is shown. It acts upon the drinker like deadly poison. It makes him both physically and mentally unfit. It deprives him of his riches and morality in this world, and he is born deformed in body hereafter.

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should, therefore, conquer all sins and attain all-happiness at all times.

85. In all the three existences, let all beings, friends, foes and kinsmen of the present existence—be free from diseases, fear and grief at all times, and attain all-happiness, and be pleased.

86. The body is like a broken jar filled with excrement. The body is constantly the abode of impurities of sins and miseries. The body also destroys all-happiness in this world. The body is constantly the abode of death, diseases and old age.[1]

87. That very death is enraged and does not consider beings, young, old or tender. Therefore, while standing, lying and going on, let me go accordingly to the jaws of death.

88. Always think with an intent mind that this body is furnished with depravities. Always dwell on the thought of friendliness, protection, unpleasantness and uncertainty of death, and being devoted to it, be constantly self-restrained.

IX

PAṬICCASAMUPPĀDA

(On Causal Genesis)

89. Having performed meritorious deeds, such as charity and the like, that produce happiness, its infinite and boundless fruit is also to be bestowed always for the good and happiness of others in this world. Dear! what else, then, is the wealth that one can possess?

90. Without a cause nothing happens in this world. Even as a sound is produced on account of the clapping of hands, so the world comes out, exists and decays, conditioned by a cause and its result, divided in proportion.

91. The cause of action is this, namely, ignorance. Dear! it is because of Karma that a being undergoes birth. And it is on account of birth that beings always get sufferings like old age, death and so forth from times immemorial.

92. Even as when the delusion is gone there is no action, so too when the action is destroyed there is no re-birth in existences. When the root of re-birth is destroyed here, sufferings like old age, death and so forth cease entirely, as does a lamp by the wind.

93. A man who beholds constantly the body of doctrines of the sage sees the Buddha, so he declares. To consider Buddha, the lord of the three worlds, and his pure doctrine, Oh mortals! seek the nature of dependent origination.

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[1] Cf. Verse 66.

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94. By the hook of wisdom throw away the threefold corruption which is like a very sharp arrow dived deep into the heart, and is mixed with the impurity of various sins, a vessel of manifold misery, and impure.

95. All the vicissitudes of life and also various spheres of forms and the like, all unitedly, shake the mind that always receives the arrow of sins and miseries, as a mountain-top is shaken by the mighty wind.[1]

96. The best of sages who cut off the net of delusion, disregarding as if the ill of existences, crossed over the deep ocean of perfection and knew the subtle knowable (i.e. nibbāna). Therefore, always accumulate the highest for the good of others.

97. Leaving aside the joy of emancipation attained by him, for the benefit of others, he (i.e. Buddha) wandered in the most fearful existences. Similarly, always keeping the good of others in view (lit., the fore-front), I practised Dhamma only for the sake of the world.

98. Having obtained human birth which is most difficult to obtain, and all the opportune moments and having acquired a knowledge of the doctrine which helps to check the fresh growth of sins, being wise, who should not stick to the doctrine which is not good.[2]

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[1] Expl. Mind is compared to a mountain-top, which, though firmly situated, is shaken by the mighty wind. Likewise, the vicissitudes of life and the rest disturb the peace even in a guarded mind, and make the mind miserable.

[2] The four *āsavas* (cravings) are : *Kāma* (sensuality), *bhava* (lust of life), *diṭṭhi* (dogmatism), and *avijjā* (ignorance). To get rid of these cravings constitutes Arhantship, and the struggle for their extinction is one of the main duties of a human being.

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A JAIN VIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF INSTITUTIONS

By KALIPADA MITRA

A great many institutions originated with Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara.

He descended from the Sarvārthamahāvimāna when the moon [1] was in conjunction with the asterism of Uttārāṣāḍha on the 4th day of the first fortnight (*bahula*) of Āṣāḍha and was born at midnight on the 8th day of the bahula fortnight of Caitra when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism of Uttārāṣāḍhā when his mother Marudevī had borne him for nine complete months and seven days and a half. All the worlds were illuminated, eight quarter-maidens (dik-kumāryah) from the underworld, and other regions, and gods and goddesses were delighted, sang and danced . . . the Dik-kumārīs with great reverence, announced the birth of the Tīrthaṅkara in Jambudvīpa, expressed the desire of going to celebrate his birth (*jammanmahimam karema*), rode heavenly *vimānas* and with great music, dance, band of concert, etc., came to the house of his birth (*jammanabhavane*). There they danced, approached the house and with joined palms touching the head, they saluted the mother, saying she was not to be afraid . . . . . they had come to celebrate the birth of the Tīrthaṅkara. Some raised the wind saṃvaṭṭa which blowing purified all the quarters a *yojana* all round the birth place. Some showered rain and flowers, scented the atmosphere with *aguru*, etc. ; some held mirrors in their hands, some *bhṛṅgāras*, some palm-fans, some chauris, some lamps, etc.,—all sang. Four maidens of the middle Rucaga mansions cut the navel of the Tīrthaṅkara after leaving 4 digits (of it) created some pavilions and in thrones—all shining with gold, and jewels, transported the mother and child and seated them on one and anointed them with oil refined a hundred, and a thousand times, and with fragrant unguents (gandha *Vaṭṭaeṇaṃ uvvaṭṭiṃti*), transported them to a second throne where they bathed them with various kinds of water, adorned them, they procured woods of *gośīrṣa*, sandal, etc. from the little Himalayas, made fire by fire-drill (aranim *ghaḍettā saraenaṃ mahaṃti mahittā aggiṃ pāḍeṃti* . . .) throwing the wood into fire made homa (aggihomam) performed expiatory rites (*bhūtkammaṃ*), bound a protective amulet (*rakkhā-poṭṭaliyaṃ baṃdhaṃti*), and taking two round stones inlaid with many gems and jewels, touched the root of the

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[1] *rikheṇa aṣāḍhāhiṃ asāḍhabahule ca-utthīe.*

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ears of the Tīrthaṅkara with them with rattling sound (*tiṭṭiāvemti*) saying ' Long live thou '. Then they replaced them in their original beds.

At that time Devendra, king of gods, Vajjapanī, Puramdara, Satakkau, Sahassakkhe, Maghavam Pākasasane (*dāhiṇaḍḍhalokāhivai*) seeing that his seat began to move (*āsaṇaṃ caliyaṃ pāsittā*) exercised his *avadhi* knowledge, and saw the Tirthaṅkara . . . . . He was exceedingly pleased . . . . . he left off his shoes, showed great reverence (*egasāḍiyaṃ uttarāsaiṅgaṃ karettā*, etc.) to him and ordered Harinegamsi to sound the Sughoṣa bell and announce that he would in full force, heavenly regalia, and ceremonials go to Jambudvīpa to celebrate the birth of the first Tīrthaṅkara. Many exquisitely artistic vimānas adorned with figures of animals, flowers, creepers, and with jewels, etc. were made . . . The *toraṇas* (gates) of these Vimānas had eight auspicious signs, viz., Svastika, Srivatsa, Nandyā-varta, Varddhamāna, Bhadrāsana, water-jars, fishes, and mirrors . . . . . and upon them banners and streamers of various kinds . . . . . .

Then Sakka approached the lying-in room and after making due circumambulations saluted the mother and told her that he was Sakka, the king of the gods, come to celebrate the birth of the Tīrthaṅkara and she was not to be afraid. By magic he put them all to sleep, made an image of the Tīrthaṅkara, which he placed by the side of the mother, and created five Sakkas. One of them took the Tīrthaṅkara on the palms and hands, one held an umbrella from behind, two waved chauris on two sides, one thunderbolt in hand, walked in front . . . . . Accompanied by many other gods and goddesses Sakka went to Mandāra hill, to the anointing seat and placed him on the superb Siṃhāsana, with his face towards the east. Then came other Indras, from Īśana, Devendra (king of the gods—Śūlapāṇī, Vasabhavāhaṇe Uttaralogāhīvai) to Acyuta, Camara, Batī, kings of Asuras, Dharana, king of Nāgas, Kāla, king of Piśācas . . . . . Then the requisites for anointment were brought from various quarters.

He was sprinkled with water of many kinds from many vessels made of gold, silver, jewels, etc. While those assembled held umbrellas, jars, incense-pots, flowers, garlands and ornaments, or waved chauris, banners, etc. Some hoisted flags, some made five-finger impressions with gośīrṣa and sandal . . . . some danced various kinds of dances, sounded various kinds of musical instruments, made various kinds of sportive and amusing noises, etc. . . . . Then Īśāna did likewise . . . . . Then the Tīrthaṅkara was brought to his mother and the magic sleep broken . . . . .

Then ordered by Sakka, Vesamana caused the Jṛmbhaka gods to gather 32 koṭis of *hīraṇya*, of suvaṇṇa, 32 *naṃdāi*, etc., near the

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lying-in room. Then a warning was given to the inferior gods and goddesses—*bahavanavai-vānamaṃtara-joisavemanimā*, etc. that if they entertained any evil thought towards the Tīrthaṅkara and his mother, their heads would split into hundred pieces and the same warning was given in the city at crossroads, etc.

Then he was named. There are 24 ślokas regarding this beginning with *Urusu usabhalaṃchaṇamusabhaṃ suminaṃmi tena usabhajiṇo*, etc. There was a sign of bull on his thigh or the bull was seen in the dream by his mother that he was called Ṛṣabha.

Sakra made his *Vaṃsa-ṭhavanā* (*Vaṃśa-sthāpanā*) i.e., indicated his race. The Tīrthaṅkaras do not suckle the mothers' teat nor eat any other food being impure; if they desire to eat, they put their fingers in the mouth; the gods put many kinds of savoury food on them. So long as *Ṛṣabhanātha* did not take *pravrajyā*, he used to feed on fruits of the *kalpadruma* in Uttarakuru, brought to him by the gods. Sakka not wishing to come empty handed, came holding a big stick of sugarcane in hand which he raised, wishing him victory. When the infant's eyes fell on the cane, Sakka said, " Lord, '*Ikkhu agū*'? Will you eat the sugarcane?" He stretched out his right hand; Sakka thought since the Tīrthaṅkara wanted the *Ikkhu*, let him be Ikkhagu-Vaṃsa, (of the race of Ikkhāgu).

Sakko Vaṃsaṭṭhavaṇe ikkhu agū tena huṃti ikkhāgā.

Then he grew up very beautiful . . . . . began to remember the previous birth . . . . . and attained marriageable age.

A couple left a twin—boy and girl—under a palm tree and went to play in a grove . . . . . the boy was killed by a ripe fruit of the palm falling on him. This was the first premature death (*paḍhamo akālamaccū*). The girl was brought up and subsequently married to Ṛṣabhanātha.

Indra married him to Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā. Sumāṅgalā bore a twin—a son named Bharata and a daughter named Brāhmī. Sunandā bore a twin—a son named Bahubalī and a daughter named Sundarī.

Further Sumaṅgalā bore 499 twins of sons. Meanwhile people became more wicked than before and transgressed the *daṇḍanīti* of the Kulakaras known as *Hakkāra* [1], etc. The first two *Kulakaras* (Vimala Vāhana and Cakṣuṣmāna) had Hakkāra *daṇḍanīti*, the 3rd, and the 4th (Yasasvī and Abhicandra) had the Makkāra *daṇḍanīti*, the 5th, 6th and 7th, the Dikkāra *daṇḍanītī* and Nābhi. The first was ordained in the case of light offence, the 2nd in case of heavy offence, the 3rd still heavier (?), Bharata, the jewel of men,

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[1] *Hakkāre Makkāre Dhikkāre Ceva daṇḍanītīyo.*

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enjoined the remaining punishments, viz., imprisonment, mutilation including decapitation. Ṛṣabha prescribed the two punishments of restraint known as paribhāṣaṇaṃ and maṇḍalibandha, the first preventing a man from leaving a particular place, the second confining him to a limited area (internment ?).

This was reported to Ṛṣabhanātha who said, 'The king (who has been anointed and has ministers, and forces and whose order cannot be violated) does *daṇḍa* (*rāyā karei daṃḍaṃ*)'. They said, 'Let us have our king'. 'If so, ask Kulakara Nābhi [1] for a king'. Nābhi said, 'I have grown old, let Ṛṣabha be your king (*Usabho ya the rāyā*)'. Then the twins went to the lotus-tank (*padminīsara*) to fetch water for bathing him as king (*rājyābhiṣeka karanārthaṃ*). Meanwhile the seat of Sakka moved, he came down with his retinue in majestic splendour and consecrated him king, and adorned him with a crown and royal ornaments.[2]

The twins came back, were surprised to find him thus crowned and adorned, and poured the water on his feet. Sakro (Vajrapāṇi) finding them thus disciplined (*vinīta*) asked Vesamana, king of the Yakṣas to build a city named Vinīta (9×12 yoganas) which was done.

For the purpose of *rājasaṃgraha* (Ṛṣabhanātha accepted horses, elephants, cows, and other quadrupeds, and made established the fourfold *saṅgraha* (order)—Ugras (who became *ārakṣakas*, defenders), Bhogas (who became *gurusthānīyā*) objects of reverence, Rājanyas and Kṣatriyas.

Then rules were made regarding the following subjects :—(1) food [3] (i.e. how for want of the fruit of *Kalpadruma*, cooked food was introduced) ; (2) arts (*śilpa*) such as pottery, etc., whence, when, how and how many were made ; (3) *Kamma*, (4) mine-ness (māmaṇā), (5) adornment, (6) writing (*lekha*), (7) counting (*gaṇita*, arithmetic), (8) rūpa (shape ?), (9) signs (lakṣana), (10) measuring (māna), (11) ships (pota), (12) legal practice or administration of justice (*vavahāra*, and Pāli, *vohāro*), (13) Politics (nīti), (14) warfare (*yuddha*), (15) archery (*īṣu-śāstra*), (16) *Upāsanā*, (17) removal of disease (*cikitsā*), (18) Economics (*Arthaśāstra*, the science of acquiring wealth), (19) *bandha* (restraint by chaining), (20) *ghāta* (striking with rods, whipping), (21) *māraṇā* (death-sentence), (22) *yajña*

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[1] Father of Ṛṣabhanātha.

[2] Ābhoeum Śakko Uvāgato tassakuṇai abhiseyam maṇḍai alaṃkāraṃ narindajogaṃ ca se kuṇai.

[3] Ushabhassa gihāvāse asakkato āsi ahāro-while Ṛṣabhanath was a householder, his food was natural, as according to the order of Devendra the gods brought him savoury fruits from Devakuru and Uttarakuru and water from the kṣīrodasamudra.

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(worship of *nāgas*, etc.), (23) utsava (festive occasions, such as *Indra maha*, etc.), (24) *samavāya* (the meeting of *goṣṭhi*, or village groups for some definite purpose), (25) *maṅgala* (the auspicious things such as *svastika*, gold, white mustard, etc.), (26) *kautuka* (protective charms), (27) clothing (*vastra*), (28) *gandha* (scents, etc.), (29) garlands, (30) *alaṃkāra* (adornment, or shaving), (31) *cūḍā* and *upanayaṇa*, (32) marriage, (33) gift (*datti*), (34) worship of the dead (*mṛtakapujana*), (35) burning the dead, (36) raising tumulus (*stūpa*), (37) *śabda*, (38) *chetāvaṇa*, and (39) questions (*praśna*).

When Ṛṣabha was king, the twins were eaters of tubers (*kandāhārā*), roots, leaves, flowers and fruits. Since the Kṣatriyas were great eaters of sugarcane, they came to be famed in the world as belonging to the Ikṣāka race.[1] They also ate unripe or uncooked, and a little quantity of, *dhānya*, beginning with *sāli* and ending with *saṇa*.[2]

In course of time they could not digest even this and informed Ṛṣabhanātha who advised them to remove their skins by rubbing them with their hands and then eat them. After some time again they could not digest this, then they were advised to soak them in water, put them on leaves and eat them . . . when all the contrivances of like nature failed, he showed them the way of getting fire from the forest fire caused by friction of trees during storm and advised them to cook the grains with its help. The ignorant twins threw the grains in the fire but they were burnt up. They reported the matter to Ṛṣabhanātha who was then riding an elephant. At his bidding they brought some clay which he placed on the head of the elephant and thus made a pot looking like a leaf and advised them to make vessels like that, bake them in the fire and with their help to cook rice, etc. They did so. Thus arose first the potter's art and the art of cooking.

There were five principal arts, viz., those of (1) potter, (*ghaḍa*), (2) iron-smith (lohe), (3) painter (*citta*), (4) clothes-man (*naṃta*), and (5) barber (*kāsava*). Formerly raiments were supplied by trees (*Cf. Śakuntalā*, Act IV—the present of moon-white silk-garments by a tree to Śakuntalā—*Kṣaumaṃ kenacidindu-paṇḍu, tarunā māṅgal-yamāviṣkṛtaṃ*). When such trees became rare, Ṛṣabha introduced the art of making clothes (*vastra śilpa*). People lived in *kalpa*-trees, when they also became rare, for the purpose of building house, arts such as those of an iron-smith, etc. had to be devised.

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[1] Āsīya ikkhubho-ī Ikkhāgā tena Khattyā hoṃti.

[2] Sāli java Vīhi Kuddava rātī tila mugga māsa cavale Ya cana tubari masura kulattha godhūma nipphāva ayasi sanā.

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Owing to the faulty character of the times the hairs and nails of people began to grow, hence the rise of the art of the barber. For making the houses look beautiful, the painter's art arose. Each such art had twenty sub-divisions, altogether a hundred arts originated.

Kamma means agriculture and trade, etc. (kṛṣi-vāṇijyā), etc. which followed the introduction of fire. At the same time grew the sense of mine (*meum, māmaṇa-mamatā*), or the sense of property. Formerly Sakka adorned Ṛṣabhanātha, now people began to adorn themselves.

Ṛṣabhanātha showed his daughter Brāhmī how to write with the right hand, and his daughter Sundarī how to count 1, 2, 3, etc. with the left hand. Thus arose the arts of *lekha-lipi*, and *gaṇita* [1]

Rūpa means wood-work, making books, etc. and *Lakṣaṇa* means signs, such as those of men, etc. Ṛṣabhanātha taught them to Bharata. He taught Bahubali the five kinds of measurements such as measuring rice, measuring by scale, by hands, by *guñja*, (gold, etc.).

Pota is either *prota* or keeping in safe custody jewels, etc. (*davarakādiṣu lokena protah kriyante*) or sea-going vessels. Owing to bad times people deviated from their true character, so disputes arose, for settling which people went to the king's courts. This is *Vavahīra* (*Vyavahāra*, etc.).

Nīti is of seven kinds—viz. Hakkāra, Makkāra, dhikkāra, paribhāsanā *maṇḍalibandha* (grouping)[2], throwing into prisons and in case of great offences cutting of the head, or the skin, etc.

These seven kinds were divided occasionally from the reign of Kulakara Vimalavāhana to that of Bharata. Or it is of four kinds—viz. *Sāma, bheda, daṇḍa and upapradānaṃ* (bribe, presents and tributes, etc.), which arose during the time of *Ṛṣabha*. Fight is like that of fight with hands, etc.

The science of arrows (*isaṭṭham*) is archery (*dhanurveda*). This arose with the introduction of Rājadharma, so also arose *Uvāsanā* which is (1) the barber's art such as shaving etc. or (2) reverencing teachers, etc., medical science and economics. *Māraṇa, Yajña* and *atsava* were ordained during the reign of Bharata. To bring good auspices to Ṛṣabhanātha, the gods resorted to *maṅgala* and *Kautuka* rites and they gave him clothes, scents and ornaments. Therefore the people adopted them. Tonsure of a boy on an auspicious day and bringing him to a *guru* for the purpose of acquir-

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[1] Leham livivihānam Jiṇeṇa Baṃbhī-e dāhiṇa kareṇaṃ | Gaṇiyaṃ saṃkhāṇaṃ Sundarī-e Vāmena uvaiṭṭham ||

[2] Cf. frith borough of the Anglo-Saxons.

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ing arts (*kalā*) or hearing religious discourse (*upanayaṇa*) were also introduced. People seeing that the gods brought about the marriage of Ṛṣabhanātha, introduced marriage. Ṛṣabhanātha gave Brāhmī to Bahubalī and Sundarī to Bharata as wife, so the custom arose among the people for fathers to give away their daughters in marriage. Or seeing that the great grand-son of the sage Sejjaṃsa gave him alms, people also gave alms.

The gods worshipped first the dead body of Marudevī. Hence arose the custom amongst the people worshipping the dead body. After the Nirvāṇa of Ṛṣabha, the gods burnt his dead body, also bodies of other sages, hence the custom of burning the dead body among the people. Bharata made *stūpas* on the sites where they burnt the dead body of Ṛṣabha Sakra to relieve the intense distress of Bharata, made the sound of cry (lamentation), so arose the custom of lamentation amongst the people. There arose the custom of *chhelāpaṇakaṃ*, viz., making noise expressive of joy or making boys play and asking and getting answer from people possessed by Yakṣas, or the reading of supposed consequences of dreams etc. Some of the customs mentioned above arose in the time of Ṛṣabha, some in the time of Bharata, some in subsequent time.

The barber's art seems to have been very ancient for *alaṃkāra* [1] and *uvāsaṇā* both mean *kṣaurakarma* or the work of the razor. Mr. Mac Yay who read a paper on Mohenjodaro civilization before the Royal Asiatic Society of London only a few months ago expressed his surprise at the large number of razors among the excavated finds.[2]

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[1] We come across *alaṃkāriya* (the barber), *alaṃkāriyakamma* (shaving, hair-cutting, etc.) *alaṃkāriyasabhā* (*sabhā*, hair-cutting saloon in *Nāyā-dhammakhrā*, 1, 13.

[2] I.H.Q., Vol. XII, page 480, Mr. K. M. Shembavnikar, the author, thinks, however, Vāhikas were the authors of that civilization, and they were particular about getting themselves shaved and hence the barber's profession was not undignified.

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THE REIGN OF 'ALĪ 'ADĪL SHĀH OF BIJAPUR PART I. (1557 A.D.–1564 A.D.)

By K. K. Basu

On the day of his coronation, Sultan 'Alī added in the formula of āẕān the following motto—'*Alī an walī allāh* (i.e. 'Alī is the friend of God); he further removed the names of the Khālifs [1] from the *Khuṭba* and added in it those of the pure *Aimmas* or *Imams*,[2] Peace be upon them! The Sultan thus gave up the religion of his father and revived the tenets held by his grandfather. He did his best to propagate the Shi'a faith. The masterminds of Irān, Turān, Kirmān and Khorāssān gathered at his court and some three hundred of these foreigners called the *Tabrā'iyan* were appointed in state services. Their duty was to abuse or vilify the Khālifs (Abu Bakr, 'Umar and Usmān) in public.

In those days there was only one Jāmi' mosque in the capital where the Sunnīs offered their Friday-prayers. (It was here that) one Ikhtiyār Khān Guzrātī, a wealthy noble and orthodox Sunni, scrupulously discharged the duties enjoined in the *Shar*.' In company with his relatives and armed to the teeth, the new Sultan, having made his access to the Jāmi' mosque on a certain Friday, shut up the doors and placed the cannons and other artilleries in charge of brave warriors on the roof of the mosque, had the *Khuṭba* read in accordance with the Shī'a doctrine and offered his prayers.

Had not the Sultan taken those precautions, the declaration of the Shī'a faith would not have been made practicable. (However) the *Hanafis* [3] in disgust made a parley and raised disturbances. There would have been a serious outbreak, had not the Sultan offered gifts to the people and showed respect to and bestowed honours upon the scholars and the theologians. The Sultan further gave a hearing to the petitions of the people and put an end to their sufferance. A large number of people, who during the last reign had kept

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[1] The Shias, meaning 'followers' (i.e. to say of Ali cousin-german of the Prophet and husband of his daughter Fatima) maintain that Ali was the first legitimate Imam and they accordingly reject the first three Khālifs (recognized by the Sunnīs), viz., Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman.

[2] The list of the twelve Shia Imams begins with Ali and ends with Muhammad al-askari.

[3] The *Hanafi* or *Hanifi* is one of the four Sunni school of law interpretation founded by Abu Hanifa, which is followed in Turkey, Central Asia and North India.

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their religious faith in strict confidence, now threw off all disguise. Thus, on account of the increase in the number of the Shī'as and their acquisition of strength, the rebellion was put down. Religious differences now died out. It is an acknowledged fact that if the king is just and charitable, no one has any cause of complaint.

'Alī 'Adīl Shāh was noted for his nobleness, intelligence and comprehension. He had, under best tutors, read the noted works on religion, logic, sciences, syntax, etymology and grammar. He was conversant with the intricate problems of the arts and the sciences. He could write *Ṣuls* or *Ṣuluṣ* (i.e. large *Nashkhi* handwriting, used in diplomas or letters patent), *Naskh* (i.e. modern Arabic character) and *riqā'* (short letters). In faith he was a Sufi, and in manners and habits a monk and a Qalandar.[1] He was simple in diet and habiliment. The palace that he lived in was devoid of any decoration or embellishment. At the time of his coronation he showed such a strict sense of justice, liberality and compassion that they became a common-place saying. He did stretch forth his hand in charity to the soldiery, the scholars, the nobility, the poets, the poor and the needy. It is said that the late Sultan Ibrāhim 'Adīl had through parsimony amassed one crore and fifty lacs of huns, but the new Sultan 'Alī 'Adīl spent out the whole amount like rainfall. The latter Sultan paid visits to the darvishes and put the Hindu monks to the test. If the Sultan was satisfied with his wisdom he showed him his regards and devised means for his safety and upkeep. He would then occasionally pay him visits and satisfy him with his acts of kindness. The royal throne and the huge wealth could not hold out temptation to the Sultan. He entrusted the affairs of the state to his officials and led a retired life. Sometimes he visited his courtiers and spent some five or six hours in conversation with each official. In such social intercourses he gave utterance to excellent anecdotes and useful sayings of the Wise and while parting showed extreme modesty. 'Pardon', he would invariably say, 'I have wasted your time in talking nonsense. Henceforth, let us utilize our time in the service of the country, the treasury and the people. Farewell! Hope to meet you again'.

When the generous disposition and the charitable habits of 'Alī 'Adīl came to light, the neighbouring kings thought that the Sultan had run mad and they took no further notice of him. They drove a bargain and their avaricious and mean tendencies became conspicuous. They now sent out their brigades against the ruler of

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[1] The Sufis are a higher order of mystics than the Qualandars; for although the latter renounce the world, they are still subject to a superior, whilst the Sufis acknowledge no spiritual head.

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Bijapur. Upon this, the latter wanted to call upon Ramraj and having established a friendship with him make himself ready for the occasion.

Meanwhile it transpired that the youngest and the dearly beloved prince of Vijayanagar had died. It provided an impetus to 'Alī 'Adīl for seeking an interview with Ramraj (the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar) and offering him his condolences. In spite of the risk and danger that were involved in the enterprise, the Bijapur Sultan having put his trust in God proceeded to Vijayanagar. This information reaching him, Ramraj deputed a noble of his court for offering welcome to the guest. A mandate was issued to the effect that the noble guest should be courteously received at the Krishna and conveyed with due honour to the place appointed for his residence.

When the retinue of the Bijapur Sultan crossed the Krishna, the nobles of Vijayanagar gave it a warm reception and led it towards the capital, bestowing minutest care to the inconveniences of the party. Thus the guests reached at the distance of one *manzil* from the city. In the meantime, Ramraj had issued orders for decorating the Capital, so that the houses, the market-place, the lanes and the streets were festooned with precious garments, arms and furniture in such a way that they even put the Paradise out of countenance. A wide plain on the Tuṅgabhadrā, noted for its beautiful scenery and excellent climate, was assigned for the Sultan's rest. The quarters were bedecked with costly screens, embossed in gold, velvet, etc. and poly-chromatic carpets. Accompanied by the royal family, the nobles and the soldiery, with great splendour and solemnity, Ramraj now proceeded to five or six *farsakhs* for holding out his hand to his guest. The Hindu rājā then took 'Alī 'Adīl to his capital with great respect and honour.

A conference was held in the royal palace which was duly ornamented and beautified. At the outset, 'Alī 'Adīl made Ramraj put on the special robe of honour that he had brought with him. Then the Sultan having put on the mourning costume offered his condolences to the Rājā. He now discoursed on terms of friendship and concord so that the amity existing between the two sovereigns was firmly established. Ramraj was now in a transport of delight and he conversed with 'Alī 'Adīl in intimate terms. 'Alī 'Adīl at last gave away to Ramraj sixteen lacs of huns in cash, some rare and valuable jewels and pearls, a few big elephants and beautiful horses completely dressed. Some of the presents consisted of saddles and reins decorated with pearls and rubies, camels, valuable garments made of Egyptian, Italian and Chinese silk and other costly articles which dazzled the sight of the beholders. Among

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the jewels offered, there was a big diamond weighing eighteen *miṣqāl*. The jewellers failed to put its proper price. Having accepted those presents, Ramraj showed due respect and courtesy to 'Alī 'Adīl and offered him in return, a gift of a robe of honour.

'Let me tell you', Ramraj ultimately asserted, 'your mother is anxious to see you'. On behalf of the Queen, the ladies of the harem also paid their visit to 'Alī 'Adīl. In fact the Queen of Vijayanagar who traced her descent from Raja Ajit Rai addressed 'Alī 'Adīl as her son and her daughters consequently looked upon the ruler of Bijapur as their brother. 'Our Queen', the ladies declared, 'and the other inmates of the royal household yearn for your visit. Be so good as to look the ladies up and thereby make them delightful'. Thus, 'Alī 'Adīl proceeded to the harem of Ramraj and entered it without any suspicion in his mind. Accompanied by all the princesses and the other ladies of the harem, the Rani greeted 'Alī 'Adīl and performed *nisar* in his honour. With the motherly affection the Rani made an interview with the Sultan and placed him on the royal throne which had been nicely arrayed. She enquired about his welfare and talked with him on other subjects. Thus the Queen hit the Sultan's fancy and secured from him a promise of timely help to her husband. At last she presented the Sultan with a robe of honour ornamented with precious stones and a gold plate full of rubies, pearls and emeralds and then bade him farewell.

Thus 'Alī 'Adīl returned to his halting place in high feather. The nobles and the officials of his court offered their thanks to God for the Sultan's safe return from the harem of Ramraj. They also bestowed alms on the poor and the needy. At the end, the nobles and the chiefs of Ramraj and the public of Vijayanagar offered their homage to 'Alī 'Adīl. In return, they were presented, in proportion to their rank and dignity, with jewels, cash and robes of honour. This state of things continued as long as 'Alī 'Adīl remained at Vijayanagar. There was seldom any subject of Ramraj who was not the recipient of the Sultan's charity. The treasury of Bijapur was thus spent in making gifts and the rumour of Sultan's liberality spread in the four corners of the Vijayanagar empire. After the event narrated above, the harmonious relation between Ramraj and 'Alī 'Adīl was firmly established and whenever the latter needed any help the former sent it without the least delay.

'Alī 'Adīl now returned to his capital. On his return from Vijayanagar, the Sultan of Bijapur fitted out an expedition against Ahmadnagar. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, the ruler of Ahmadnagar did not, out of hostility, fulfil the custom of paying homage to 'Alī 'Adīl at the time of his coronation. He had, moreover, joined

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Tafāūl Khan, the *Peshwa* of 'Imād Shāh (of Berar) and having entered into the territory of 'Alī 'Adīl created disturbances in the country.

On the eve of the campaign, 'Alī 'Adīl sent an intelligent messenger to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh with an ultimatum. 'Give up', the message ran, 'the fortresses of Sholapur and Kaliyan if you want to maintain our old friendly relation. In case of transgression war will be declared against you'. On receipt of this note, Ḥusain blurted out unpleasant words to the Bijapuri ambassador and expelled him from his capital. At this, the Sultan of Bijapur, who looked for a pretext, marched his forces against Ḥusain. At the same time, the Sultan sent a messenger to Vijayanagar asking for help. Ramraj lost no time in marching out with a big force towards Bijapur. The two kings ('Alī 'Adīl and Ramraj) met at a distance of ten *Farsakh* from Bijapur—at the place which was fixed for the halt of the Hindu Raja, and in no time both sallied forth against the enemies. Niẓām and Tafāūl Khan took alarm when they got scent of the joint progress of 'Alī 'Adīl and Ramraj. Tafāūl fled towards Berar and Niẓām likewise turned upon his heel. 'Alī 'Adīl and Ramraj pursued the fugitives, and the army of the latter who had been in expectation of plunder began to raid and destroy the country of Niẓām. The vanity of the infidels now exceeded all limit. Whenever the Bijapuris pitched up the royal tent at places noted for their climate and scenery, the Vijayanagar forces, in order to humour their rājā, pulled it down and set up the camp of their ruler. It so happened that once, the royal tent of Bijapur was thrice thrown down and the Vijayanagar tent raised up instead. It was out of policy that 'Alī 'Adīl Shāh paid no attention to the discourteous conduct of the Hindus. The infidels, on their part, changed the halting places not out of necessity but out of curiosity—their object being to sound how far they were indispensable to the Muslims. Thus did the Hindu army wend their way ravaging and destroying *en route* the territory of Niẓām. The latter on the other hand, made no halt at Ahmadnagar, but having beaten a retreat to Daulatabad took refuge in the fortress and closed its doors. The infidels of Vijayanagar now raided and destroyed the country extending from Junnar to Daulatabad. Not a single village in that vast tract of land was left uninjured. The territory Ahmadnagar shared the same fate. The gardens and cultivated lands were totally destroyed, mansions, big or small, levelled to dust and put to fire. The furniture and utensils were removed from the dwelling houses and carried to Bijapur. Thereupon, Niẓām Shāh came to terms with 'Alī 'Adīl and put Kaliyan into his hands. Afterwards, when the people of Ahmadnagar had drained the cup of misery to the dregs

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and their country was totally devastated and ruined, the Sultan of Bijapur called off his ally and both withdrew to their capitals.

At a subsequent period Niẓām Shāh breathed vengeance on 'Alī 'Adīl. He allied himself with Qutb Shāh and for cementing the alliance further he entered into relationship with him. He gave away his daughter Jamāl Bibi in marriage to Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh. Next year, both the father-in-law and the son-in-law joined Imād-ul-Mulk. The allies thus drew the sword against 'Alī 'Adīl and laid siege to Kalyān. When the report about the onslaught of the allied army reached the ears of 'Alī 'Adīl, he sent an ambassador to Ramraj and sought his help. Interested as he was in raiding the territories of the Muslims and inflicting pain on them, Ramraj before long sent out two lacs of infantry and fifty thousand cavalry to the help of the Bijapur Sultan. The joint forces of Bijapur and Vijayanagar flew at their opponents and halted at a distance of one or two *farsakhs* from them. But, on account of his friendship with Niẓām Shāh, Ramraj had no relish for the contest. He was after a compromise between 'Alī 'Adīl and Niẓām and thought of playing the rôle of a peace maker. The Sultan of Bijapur, on the other hand, had his doubt about Ramraj's conduct. He refused to believe that the latter could be both friendly to him and solicitous for the welfare of Niẓām Shāh. This sort of dissimulation, thought the Sultan, was unworthy of the Hindu Rājā. In the sequel, being distrustful of the rājā's help and having placed his trust on the benevolence and charity of the sublime God, the Sultan drew up his forces against Niẓām Shāh and displayed conspicuous gallantry and remarkable impetuosity in the conflict. Niẓām Shāh, on his part, offered stubborn resistance to 'Alī 'Adīl, but ultimately, being suspicious of Ramraj's attitude he slackened his efforts and prepared himself for leaving the battle-field. 'Alī 'Adīl drove Niẓām into a corner, and consequently, the latter saved his skin at the cost of his baggage and the paraphernalia of royalty. The heavy spoil of war taken by the victor consisted of elephants, horses, banners, drums, the *mahi*, and the green flag—the last being a gift to Niẓām from the Sultans of Guzrat which had made the former supercilious and arrogant. Ever afterwards, 'Alī 'Adīl adopted the green flag in place of his red insignia.

On account of the reactionary measures on the part of Ramraj 'Alī 'Adīl, next, marched to Sholapur, but as a matter of necessity he put off laying siege to the fortress. He thought that if he conquered the fortress, Ramraj who had grown insolent and insubordinate might seize it. Under the circumstances, he turned his thoughts to repairing and constructing Nuldrug, an old fortress erected by the previous rājās. With Ramraj's help he rebuilt the

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fortress with stone, made it impregnable and named it Shahdurg. At the order of the Sultan, the fortress was filled up with experienced warriors and ample provisions and stores. Both the Sultan and Ramraj now turned to their capitals. On his return journey Ramraj found his way to the countries of the Muslims and imprisoned a large number of Hindu and Muslim population : besides, some of the places he conferred on his own men. Then having placed his brother Yenktadari with a regiment on the banks of the Krishna for the purpose of ravaging the territories of the Muslims, Ramraj made his way to Vijayanagar.

It was in the same year that 'Alī 'Adīl Shāh made the garden of Kishwar Khān habitable and cultivated and called it Shahpur. At this site the Sultan had ascended the throne and it was at this spot that there was an offering of *nazar* made and the ceremony of *nisar* observed in commemoration of his accession. On account of the ingenuity and capacity of that renowned Sultan ('Alī 'Adīl) the country became proverbially flourishing. It is said that, during the rule of Ibrāhim 'Adil II the census of the city (garden of Kishwar Khān) was taken and the returns gave the number of the houses as nine lacs.

When the rebellious, ill-bred and villainous Ramraj manifested symptoms of increasing insolence and petulance and his imagination became surcharged with arrogance, misconception and cross purposes, The Punisher (God) administered to him the lash of divine anger, and at the twinkling of an eye the doom of the wicked and refractory rājā was sealed, and the Muslims and their religion found strength and support. Originally, a *protégé* of the rulers of Vijayanagar, Ramraj with the help and favour of the powerful Fortune assumed the insignia of royalty.

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GOPĀLA BHAṬṬA

By S. K. DE

Apart from uncertain legends, there is no full or satisfactory account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who is regarded by the Caitanya sect of Bengal as one of their six revered Gosvāmins, in the earlier authoritative records of the sect. He is said to have been an immediate disciple of Caitanya and a man of great learning and piety, who settled down, along with the other five Gosvāmins, to the celibate life of an ascetic devotee and co-operated with them in producing in Sanskrit the dogmatic religious literature of the sect. Nothing, however, is recorded of him by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Caitanya's well-known biographer, who must have known Gopāla Bhaṭṭa quite well at Vṛndāvana during the last phase of the latter's life; for in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Ādi, i. 37), Kṛṣṇadāsa refers to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as one of his Śikṣā-Gurus.[1] Narahari-cakravartin, in the first half of the 18th century, explains [2] this extraordinary silence as due to an express prohibition, befitting his Vaiṣṇava humility, by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself, and undertakes to remedy this deficiency by a curious account in his own *Bhakti-ratnākara*.[3] The tradition recorded by Narahari informs us that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the son of Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, a learned Brahmin of Southern India, at whose house Caitanya was a guest for four months during his South Indian pilgrimage; but no information is given regarding the place where Veṅkaṭa lived. Veṅkaṭa's elder brother was Trimalla and younger Prabodhānanda; they were worshippers of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa and belonged to the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect, but through the grace of Caitanya, they, as well as young Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, were inspired with a devotion for Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa receiving in a dream Caitanya's direction to leave for Vṛndāvana and meet Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmins there. Narahari tells us that of all this

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[1] Other references to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa occur at Ādi, xi. 4; x. 105; Madhya, xviii. 49. For a brief account of the six Gosvāmins and their work, as well as of the Caitanya movement generally, see the present writer's edition of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (Dacca University, 1934).

[2] श्रीगोपालभट्ट हृष्ट हैया आज्ञा दिल। ग्रन्थे निज प्रसङ्ग वर्णिते निषेधिल॥
केने निषेधिल दृढ़ा के बुझिते पारे। निरन्तर अतिदीन माने आपनारे॥
कविराज ताँर आज्ञा नारे लङ्घिवार। नाममात्र लिखे अन्य ना करे प्रचार॥

[3] Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1926, ch. i, pp. 6–16.

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there is a special account in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,[1] meaning Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography; but he acknowledges that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name does not appear there in this connexion.[2] But, as an explanation, he further states that 'elsewhere' it is found that Gopāla was the son of Veṅkaṭa.[3]

What is actually found in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and 'elsewhere' about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa can be summarized as follows. In his Sanskrit Kāvya, entitled also *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,[4] Kavikarṇapūra, whose father Śivānanda-sena was a direct disciple of Caitanya, states that Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraṅgam during his South Indian pilgrimage, but no mention is made of Veṅkaṭa or Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in this connexion. Nor is the incident referred to in Kavikarṇapura's better-known Sanskrit drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*. Another Sanskrit *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,[5] which goes by the name of Murāri Gupta, an elder contemporary and disciple of Caitanya, mentions the hospitality of Trimalla (and not Veṅkaṭa) during the rainy season, and describes Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a young lad already turned into a Bhakta by the touch of Caitanya, as the son of Trimalla. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in his Bengali biography mentioned above, speaks separately (at Madhya i, 108-10 and ix, 82–166) of the hospitality of Trimalla and Veṅkaṭa, at Śrīraṅgam, respectively for six and four months; both of them are described as Śrīvaiṣṇavas, but their connexion is not stated; and, as Narahari says, the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does not appear. In other Bengali biographies of Caitanya there is no reference to this incident at all.

By 'elsewhere', therefore, Narahari is probably referring to some such work as the *Prema-vilāsa* of Nityānanda-dāsa [6] where a similar but much briefer account is found; while the *Anurāga-vallī* of Manohara-dāsa [7] records in some detail a somewhat similar tradition. According to Nityānanda-dāsa, Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraṅgam and directed Trimalla's

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1 चैतन्यचरितामृते विशेष वर्णन ।

2 गोपालभट्टेर नाम अव्यक्त तथाय ।

3 अन्यत्र व्यक्त गोपाल वेङ्कटतनय ।

4 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1885 (in Bengali characters), xiii, 4.

5 Ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta, 2nd Ed., 1911 (in Bengali characters), iii. 15. 14–16.

6 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 2nd Ed., 1911, in the 18th Vilāsa. The work is said to have been composed in Śaka 1522 = 1600 A.D.

7 Ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta, 1898, pp. 8–12. The work is said to have been composed at Vṛndāvana in Śaka 1618 = 1696 A.D.

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younger brother Prabodhānanda to educate the young Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (apparently Trimalla's son, for Veṅkata is not mentioned), who would in time become a very learned man, and commanded Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to go to Vṛndāvana after his parents' death. Manohara-dāsa accepts this view but he agrees with Narahari in believing that Gopāla was Veṅkaṭa's son, and that Trimalla was the eldest and Prabodhānanda the youngest of the three brothers. In his opinion, Gopāla was already a grown-up young man at the time of Caitanya's visit; Caitanya commanded him to stay at home and tend his father and uncles but directed him to join Rūpa and Sanātana later at Vṛndāvana.

It will be seen at once that there is a great deal of discrepancy and uncertainty in the accounts given of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in the orthodox records of the sect. Narahari is not unaware of this fact, but he exhorts the faithful not to indulge in vain argument.[1] It is clear, however, that those writers who have at all recorded anything about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa agree about his South Indian origin, but they do not agree about his ancestry and personal history. The account of his meeting with Caitanya is also enveloped in the uncertainty of legends; and it is curious that at the time when Caitanya is alleged to have directed Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to meet Rūpa and Sanātana at Vṛndāvana, he himself had not yet met them and there was as yet no question of a Vṛndāvana settlement. The fact is that none of Caitanya's well-known disciples accompanied him during his South Indian pilgrimage; it is, therefore, not strange that the accounts of it, written in much later times and based more upon hearsay than direct knowledge, should be meagre and conflicting.

Some modern writers[2] add to the confusion by proposing to identify Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's alleged father, Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, with Veṅkaṭanātha of Velaguṇḍi, whom Dharmarājādhvarin mentions as his Guru in his *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*; but of this there is not the slightest evidence. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's native place, again, is given by some as Bhaṭṭamāri; but in Kṛṣṇadāsa's description of Caitanya's South Indian pilgrimage, Bhaṭṭamāri occurs not as the name of a place but as the name of a gang of false ascetics whom Caitanya met in Mallāra land (Malabar?).

The mention of Prabodhānanda as the uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is also curious; but it occurs nowhere else but in the three works of

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1 श्रीगोपालभट्टेर ए सब विवरण। केह किछु वर्णे केह ना करे वर्णन॥
ना बुझिया मर्म इहे कुतर्क ये करे। अपराधबीज तार हृदये सञ्चारे॥

2 Ramnarayan Vidyaratna, Introd. to the Berhampur ed. of *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*; Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature of Bengal* (Cal. Univ., 1917), p. 57, etc.

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Nityānanda, Narahari and Manohara cited above. At commencement of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, no doubt, describes himself as the Śiṣya of Prabodhānanda, but he is silent regarding his own parentage and makes no mention of the alleged relationship to Prabodhānanda. He describes Prabodhānanda as *bhagavat-priya*, an epithet of which the commentary gives alternative explanations as a Bahuvrīhi and as a Tatpuruṣa compound. The latter sense would imply that Prabodhānanda was a disciple of Caitanya; and if this is a fact, then Gopāla Bhaṭṭa would become, not a direct disciple, but the disciple of a disciple of Caitanya. But it is somewhat strange that the Bengali biographies of Caitanya preserve no account of Probodhānanda and his connexion with Caitanya and the sect.[1] Some Stotra-Kāvyas exist bearing the name; they testify to their author's Vaiṣṇavite inclination and devotion to Caitanya. Of these, the more well known is the *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*. The printed text [2] of this work consists of 143 devotional verses in various metres, distributed over twelve Vibhāgas. They are panegyrics of Caitanya; and the names of the Vibhāgas, such as Stuti, Praṇāma, Āśīrvāda, Avatāra, Mahiman, Abhakta-nindā, etc., would indicate their content. The verse 38 suggests that the author must have seen Caitanya and had been in close contact with him, which would support the inference of his having been a disciple. This is one of the earliest works which explicitly inculcate Caitanya-worship, to which the Gosvāmins, however, do not appear to have lent any direct theoretical support.[3] The theory that all the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa became incarnated at Navadvīpa along with Caitanya (such as is described in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*) is mentioned in verse 118, while the belief that Caitanya was an incarnation of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā finds expression in verse 13. In verse 132 there is a reference to Caitanya as Gaura-nāgara-vara, which apparently subscribes to the Nāgara-bhāva doctrine of Narahari-sarakāra and Locana-dāsa, but which hardly found favour in the orthodox circles. The commentator Ānandin gives the name and description of his author as Parivrājarāja Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, which is often found in the colophons of

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[1] The omission is sometimes explained as due to Prabodhānanda's alleged defection from the orthodox views of the Gosvāmins, but this is unconvincing in view of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's mention of him as his Guru.

[2] Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1926, in Bengali characters, with the Sanskrit *Rasikāsvādinī* commentary of Ānandin. MSS. of this work, with or without the commentary, are not rare; for references see Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, and *Descriptive Cat. of the Skt. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 223.

[3] S. K. De, Caitanya-worship as a Cult in *Indian Culture*, vol. i, pp. 173–189, at p. 183.

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the MSS. of the work. The other work ascribed to Prabodhānanda is entitled *Saṃgīta-mādhava.*[1] It gives in fifteen cantos a treatment of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; and, in imitation of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* which is its obvious model, it includes melodious Padāvalīs or songs. A third work, called *Vṛndāvana-mahimāmṛta,*[2] is also ascribed to him; it describes with elaborate devotional fancy the glories of Vṛndāvana as the abode of Kṛṣṇa. A Sanskrit commentary [3] on the *Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad* by Paramahaṃsa Parivrājakācārya Śrī-Prabodha Sarasvatī also exists, while a *Viveka-śataka* [4] on dispassion or indifference to worldly attraction is found ascribed to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī.[5] Whether this ascetic devotee and stotra-writer with the title Sarasvatī is identical with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's Guru Prabodhānanda is not yet proved; and the

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[1] Printed from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugli, 1936, in Bengali characters. There is a MS. of this work in the Dacca University Library (No. 1402) in Bengali script, with 17 folios. One of the opening (verse no. 6) and one of the concluding (verse no. 138) verses pay homage to Caitanya as Gaura and Sacī-nandana respectively. The MS. contains 15 cantos and a total of 141 verses, excluding songs.

[2] A. B. Kathvate, *Report on the Search of Skt. MSS., 1891–95* (Bombay, 1901), p. 38, no. 577. The number of verses contained in the work is not mentioned, but since the MS. has only 11 folios (with 11 lines on a page) it cannot be a very considerable work. It is, however, said that Prabodhānanda composed it in one hundred Śatakas, of which sixteen Śatakas have been printed in Bengali characters at Vṛndāvana (1933–37) by Harendra Kumar Chakravarti and others. Some of the Śatakas in this collection contain more than a hundred verses. A *Vṛndāvana-śataka* (ed. Haeberlin's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, 1847, p. 430f; reprinted in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, pt. ii, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1888, pp. 333–84; 126 verses) is often ascribed to Prabodhānanda; but the name of the author is missing in the printed text. There are, however, two opening verses in this work (nos. 2, 3) containing references to Caitanya, which raise the presumption that it was written by a Bengali Vaiṣṇava. In most of the catalogues and reports of Sanskrit MSS., where MSS. of the *Vṛndāvana-śataka* are noticed, it is assigned to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī (e.g. R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vi, p. 188, no. 2122; Peterson, *Third Report*, p. 396, no. 351; *Catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 205; but no name of the author is found in MSS. noticed in Stein's Jammu Catalogue, p. 74, no. 816 and in R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report, 1887–91*, p. 32, no. 468).

[3] *Descriptive Cat. of Skt. MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library*, vol. x, pp. 158-59.

[4] R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vii, p. 261, no. 2510.

[5] The Stotra-kāvya, named *Rādhā-rasa-sudhānidhi*, printed in two parts from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugli (1924, 1935), is wrongly ascribed to Prabodhānanda. The first and last verses of the printed text pay homage to Caitanya, but these verses are missing in the MSS. noticed by Eggeling (India Office Catalogue, vii, pp. 1464-65), Aufrecht (Bodleian Catalogue, p. 131, no. 239), Haraprasad Shastri (Descriptive Cat. of ASB. collection, vii, p. 230; *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 384), while the work is uniformly assigned in these and other manuscripts to Hitaharivaṃśa, son of Vyāsa. It is obviously a case of appropriation by the Caitanya sect of a work composed by Hitaharivaṃśa of the Rādhāvallabhī sect.

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allegation that he was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's uncle is found only in the legend narrated by Nityānanda, Narahari and Manohara.

The proposed identification[1] of Parabodhānanda with Prakāśānanda whom Caitanya met at Benares is still more unfounded and unjustifiable. There is no evidence for the statement[2] that Caitanya changed the name of Prakāśānanda into Prabodhānanda. Caitanya is alleged to have met and converted Prabodhānanda in Southern India long before he came across the scoffing unbeliever of Benares, but nothing is said of any change of name there. This Prakāśānanda is supposed to have been the well-known author of the *Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī*, a pupil of Paramahaṃsa Parivrājakācārya Jñānānanda; but this appears to be pure imagination, for there is no evidence for the identification except their common interest in Vedānta. The conversion of Prakāśānanda at Benares is given as a proof of Caitanya's successful missionary effort; but even from this point of view, judging from Kṛṣṇadāsa's account, Caitanya's abandon of Bhakti does not appear to have made much effective impression in a city like Benares where rationalistic and rigoristic views prevailed.[3] The fact of the conversion is rendered suspicious by the want of explicit mention by the biographers, as well as by the denunciation, in fairly immoderate language, of Prakāśānanda, put more than once in the mouth of Caitanya himself, by Vṛndāvanadāsa (Madhya iii and xx). This biographer is scarcely amiable to the Vedāntic ascetic and appears to assume a singularly un-vaiṣṇava attitude to an alleged Vaiṣṇava convert.

From what has been said above it will be clear that the account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa found in the records of the Caitanya sect is not only meagre but also uncertain and unsatisfactory. But here the matter does not end. Another work is definitely ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa by Narahari-cakravartin and Manohara-dāsa, but the ascription is falsified by what is recorded in the ascribed work itself! And this is a good commentary on the trustworthiness of the traditions recorded by them. Narahari informs us[4] that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa composed a Ṭippaṇī on Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala's Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta, which became a source of delight to the devout Vaiṣṇavas; while

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[1] By Dinesh Chandra Sen and others.

[2] Jadunath Sarkar, *Caitanya's Life and Teachings*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1922, p. xiii, misled by Dinesh Chandra Sen and others.

[3] Caitanya is reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to have himself regretted that his sentimental wares did not sell at Benares (কাশীতে বেচিবে আমি আইলাম ভাবকাহি ॥ কাশীতে গাহক নাহি বস্তু না বিকায়।)।

[4] করিলেন কৃষ্ণকর্ণামৃতের টিপ্পণী। বৈষ্ণবের পরমানন্দ যাহা শুনি ॥

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Manohara [1] not only mentions and characterizes this commentary but also quotes and comments on its two Maṅgala-ślokas and declares Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship of the work. These verses do indeed occur, as they are quoted, in the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*,[2] as its first two opening verses. The first verse is an invocation of Kṛṣṇa, there being no Namaskriyā to Caitanya, while the second verse [3] names the author and the work and informs us that the commentator was a Drāviḍa Brahmin. But in one of the closing verses,[4] which, however, is not quoted by Manohara, the commentator informs us that he was the son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha of the Drāviḍa country ! [5] It is needless to add that no such description occurs in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that *either* this commentator is a different person, *or*, if the two Gopāla Bhaṭṭas are (following Narahari and Manohara) to be taken as identical, then nothing remains of the Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda legend! Of this commentary nothing is said in other Bengal Vaiṣṇava works.

Of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and author of *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary, two or three works are known. That he was also an Ālaṃkārika, interested in erotic Rasa-treatises is clear from the fact that he also wrote a commentary, entitled *Rasika-*

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1 श्रीभट्टगोसाञि कर्णामृतेर टीका कैल। अशेष विशेष व्याख्या ताहाते लिखिल॥
याहार दर्शने भक्तपण्डिते चमत्कार। रसपरिपाटी याते सिद्धान्तेर सार॥
से टीकार मङ्गलाचरण दुइ श्लोक। लिखियाछे याहा देखि शुनि सर्वलोक॥
आपना पासरे रहे चकित हृदया। पुलकादि अश्रु वहे मुख वुक वाञा॥
तथा हि श्लोकौ—चूडाचुम्बितचारुचन्द्रक etc.

2 A critical edition of the Bengal recension of this work, along with the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as well as with the *Subodhanī* of Caitanya-dāsa and the *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is being printed and will be shortly published by the present writer in the Dacca University Oriental Text Publication Series. It is based on two complete and one incomplete MSS. of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā*, and eight MSS. of the other two commentaries from different sources. In the introduction there is a discussion of the problems indicated here.

3 श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृतस्यैतां टीकां श्रीकृष्णवल्लभाम्। गोपालभट्टः कुरुते द्राविडावनिनिर्जरः॥

4 श्रीमद्द्राविडनीरदम्बुधिविधुः श्रीमान्नृसिंहोऽभवद्भट्टश्रीहरिवंश उत्तमगुणग्रामैकभूस्तत्सुतः।
तत्पुत्रस्य कृतिस्त्वियं वितनुतां गोपालनाम्नो मुदं गोपीनाथपदारविन्दमकरन्दानन्दिचेतोलिनः॥

5 The colophon confirms this by reading as follows: इति श्रीद्राविडहरिवंशभट्टैकचरण-शरणश्रीगोपालभट्टविरचिता श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृतटीका श्रीकृष्णवल्लभा समाप्ता॥ (The readings of both of our complete MSS. agree, one of these MSS. being dated Saṃvat 1662 =1606 A.D.).

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rañjanī, on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī*.[1] The second opening verse of this commentary informs us that its author Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a Brahmin of the Drāviḍa country [2]; and the first of the two concluding verses, which is identical with one of the concluding verses, quoted above, of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* (*śrīmad-drāviḍa*°), gives the names of his father and grandfather respectively as Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and Nṛsiṃha.[3] This commentary contains no reference to or citation from the works on Rasa-śāstra of the Bengal school, as the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* does; and, so far, no MSS. in Bengali character of this commentary have been found. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appears to have written another exegetic work of a similar type. The Kāvyamālā edition of Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (Gucchaka iii, p. 11 footnote) mentions an incomplete commentary on Rudra's work by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa which is called *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*; but no details about the commentary or its author are given and no other MS. of this work is known to exist.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa, appears to have written yet another ritualistic work, called *Samaya-* or *Kāla-kaumudī*, which is noticed by Rajendra Lal Mitra.[4] Here also, the author in one of the opening verses [5] describes himself in almost similar terms as a Brahmin of the Drāviḍa country, while the colophon to the

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[1] See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 252. MSS. of this work are noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, iv, p. 294, no. 1712; Mitra, Bikaner Catalogue, p. 709, no. 1573; Eggeling, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 357; Stein, Jammu Catalogue, p. 63, no. 748; Hultzsch, *Report*, iii, p. 48, no. 1251; Peterson, *Sixth Report*, p. 92, no. 377; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report, 1887–91*, p. 32, no. 453; Kathvate, *Report, 1891–95*, p. 46, no. 705. We have seen the last two Devanagari MSS., now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute (no. 453 of 1887–91 and no. 705 of 1891–95, the former incomplete), as well as two other MSS. of work in the same collection (no. 244 of Viśrāmbāg i, and no. 207 of Viśrāmbāg i).

[2] श्रीमद्गोपालभट्टेन द्राविडक्ष्मासुपर्वणा। क्रियते रसमञ्जर्याष्टीका रसिकरञ्जनी॥

[3] The opening and concluding verses occur, in the form stated, in the India Office MSS. and in the MSS. noticed by Mitra; in the other catalogues the detail is not found. They occur also in the two complete MSS. of the Bhandarkar Institute collection (no. 705 of 1891–95 and no. 207 of Viśrāmbāg i); in MS. no. 244 of Viśrāmbāg i, the beginning is missing, but the concluding verse in question (*śrīmad-drāviḍa*°) is found; and in the fragmentary MS. no. 453 of 1887–91 we have the second opening verse, but the MS. breaks off on fol. 6. In all the MSS. mentioned above, wherever they are complete, the colophon reads, with minor variations; इति हरिवंशभट्टैकचरणशरणगोपालभट्टकृता रसमञ्जरी टीका रसिकरञ्जनी समाप्ता॥ All these MSS are in Devanagari characters. The commentary is not extensive, being rather a series of running glosses; and there is hardly any direct quotation or reference in it except once to the *Kāvya-prakāśa*.

[4] *Notices*, vii, p. 254, no. 2501 (with a résumé of its contents).

[5] श्रीमद्गोपालभट्टेन द्राविडक्ष्मासुपर्वणा। क्रियते विदुषां प्रीत्यै रम्या समयकौमुदी॥

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work, which is almost similar to those of the works mentioned above, describes him as 'one whose refuge is the feet of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa'[1]. The work appears to be written in Sanskrit prose and verse; and from the enumeration of its content, its chief object appears to be the determination of auspicious times or Tithis suitable for religious rites and observances, including the Saṃskāras, the Dīkṣā, the various Vratas, festivals (e.g. Janmāṣṭamī), the installation of the image of the Bhagavat, and so forth. The work has not been printed, and the MS. is not available; but the notice of the only known MS. of the work, written in Bengali characters, makes it clear that it was a fairly extensive compilation (folios 128; 9 lines on a page) and dealt with the subject in some detail. From some of the topics dealt with it may be presumed that it was written by a Vaiṣṇava author.

On the other hand, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which goes under the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect, contains no such colophon or self-descriptive verse giving his ancestry. In one of its opening verses[2] it states that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a disciple of Prabodhānanda, who is dear to Caitanya, is compiling the work for the satisfaction of Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana. It contains Namskriyās to Caitanya at the commencement of each of its twenty sections, called Vilāsas. It is a voluminous and almost exhaustive metrical compendium in Sanskrit of the Vaiṣṇava ritual of the Bengal school, of the corpus of its social and religious practices. It aims to cover all the compulsory and occasional rites and ceremonies, the rules of everyday service as well as the more elaborate ritual of temples and higher places of worship. An enumeration of the principal topics covered by its twenty Vilāsas will give some idea of its fairly comprehensive scope. They are as follows:—I. Guru, Śiṣya and Mantra, II. The ceremony of Initiation (Dīkṣā), III. The Sadācāra or daily devotional acts of a Vaiṣṇava, IV-V. The ritual of the temple (Mandira-saṃskāra), VI. The Mode of Worship of the Sacred Image (Śrīmūrti-pūjā), VII. The offering of flowers, Tulasī leaves, etc., VIII. The offering of light (Dīpa), incense (Dhūpa), food (Naivedya), etc., IX. The taking of the auspicious water of the conchshell (Śaṅkhodaka), 'foot-nectar' (Caraṇāmṛta), consecrated food (Mahāprasāda), etc., X. The

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1 इति हरिवंशचरणशरणगोपालभट्टकृता कालकौमुदी समाप्ता ॥

2 भक्तेर्विलासांश्चिनुते प्रबोधानन्दस्य शिष्यो भगवत्प्रियस्य ।
गोपालभट्टो रघुनाथदासं संतोषयन्रूपसनातनौ च ॥

(Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 2nd ed. in two parts, 1889, 1891 in Bengali characters, with the Digdarśanī commentary.)

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Bhagavad-dharma and the characteristics of a Vaiṣṇava devotee, XI. The daily duties of a devotee (Nitya-kṛtya), XII. The fortnightly observances (Pakṣa-kṛtya), XIII. Fasting (Upavāsa) and duties connected with it, XIV–XVI. Monthly observances (Māsa-kṛtya), vows (Vrata) and festivals, XVII. The use of prayers and formulas (Japa), offering of oblation (Homa), etc., XVIII. The making of Images (Mūrti-nirmāṇa) and Sacred Stone (Śālagrāma), XIX. The setting up of Images (Mūrti-pratiṣṭhā), XX. The construction of temples (Mandira-nirmāṇa). It is a work of extensive erudition; and each rule is copiously illustrated and supported by quotations from the Purānas, Saṃhitās, Tantras and other scriptures. It is, in brief, a complete guide to Vaidhī Bhakti, in which the devotional acts proceed from Śāstric injunctions. Some omissions, however, are remarkable. No treatment is accorded to the purificatory rites, known as Saṃskāras,[1] although a section is devoted to initiation or Dīkṣā in which the incorporation of Tāntric ideas is a noteworthy feature. While festivals connected with deities other than Kṛṣṇa are excluded, an exception is made in favour of Śiva-rātri; but the most important Vaiṣṇava festival of Rāsa-yātra, which Raghunandana also omits in his *Yātrā-tattva*, is conspicuous by the absence of all reference. It is also important to note that this ritual authority does not recognize the cult of Caitanya-worship or the worship of Caitanya's image, which became a remarkable feature of the later development of the faith. The work departs in many details from the accepted views of the sect. There are no directions, for instance, for the construction of the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, although there are rules for those of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa,

[1] The deficiency is sought to be remedied in a work called *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, which is undoubtedly a later fabrication passed off in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name. It was published in Bengali characters in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava journal, *Sajjana-toṣaṇī*, vol. xv-xvii, by Kedarnath Datta and reprinted by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta, 1935. MSS. of it are noticed in Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 397, no. 395; ii, p. 209-10, no. 235. The reprint contains another work, entitled *Saṃskāra-dīpikā*, meant as its supplement, on the duties of Saṃnyāsa, also ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa; but the authority for this attribution is not known, and no MS. of this work has yet been noticed. The *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā* contains no account of the author or his family, but the opening passages name Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author and pay homage to Caitanya. The fourteen Saṃskāras dealt with in this work begin with Vivāha, Garbhādhāna, etc. and end with Samāvartana, following the order of treatment of Bhavadeva's *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*; but it omits the important ceremony of Antyeṣṭi or Śrāddha as forbidden to a true Vaiṣṇava. The Bhagavad-dharma being, in the author's opinion, superior to every other Dharma, the Smārta rules are excluded from application to a Vaiṣṇava (but Tāntric ceremonies and rules are preferred!); and yet the author acknowledges as his source the works of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Govindānanda, Bhīma Bhaṭṭa, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, besides the older works of Manu, Hārīta, etc.

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Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, and other forms of the deity. This Kṛṣṇa is Cakradhara, and not Dvi-bhuja Muralīdhara; and the Rādhā-cult does not figure as prominently as it should, Rādhā being even omitted in the Dhyāna of Kṛṣṇa. But the work must have become an authoritative source of the ritualism and devotional practices of the sect; and its popularity is indicated by the fact that an abridged Bengali metrical adaptation was made by Kānāi-dāsa, a manuscript of which (No. 1231) exists in the Dacca University Library. As the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is quoted by name in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (*ad* 1. 2. 40), which is expressly dated in Śaka 1463 (=1541 A.D.), it must have been composed sometime before this date.

On this work there is a Sanskrit commentary, named *Digdarśanī*, which is attributed to Sanātana Gosvāmin; but there is also a tradition that the original work also was composed, not by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but by Sanātana. The story of its origin, as given by Narahari relates[1] that the idea of composing a Vaiṣṇava Smṛti originated in the mind of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but the work was actually composed by Sanātana in Gopāla's name. Manohara also believes[2] that Sanātana wrote the work itself, but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was responsible for the illustrative passages culled from the Purāṇas and other scriptures. As the statements of Narahari and Manohara are not always beyond suspicion, the extraordinary reverence paid to Sanātana's learning and piety may be held responsible for this attribution. But Sanātana's authorship of both the text and its commentary is also recorded by no less an authority than his nephew and associate, Jīva Gosvāmin, in the list he gives of Sanātana's works at the end of the (*Laghu*) *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. This is also confirmed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who was a disciple of the six Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana; for he makes Caitanya teach a rapid summary (Madhya, xxiv) of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* to Sanātana with an express command to write a Vaiṣṇava Smṛti

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1 করিতে বৈষ্ণবস্মৃতি হরষিল ভট্টমনে। সনাতন গোস্বামী জানিয়া সেহ ক্ষণে॥
গোপালের নামে শ্রীগোস্বামী সনাতন। করিল শ্রীহরিভক্তিবিলাস বর্ণন॥

2 শ্রীসনাতন গোসাঞি গ্রন্থ করিল। সর্ব্বত্র আমোগ ভট্টগোসাঞির দিল॥....
শ্রীরূপ সনাতন রঘুনাথ দাস। হৈলা সবায় সুখ দিতে হরিভক্তির বিলাস॥
সংগ্রহ করিল শ্রীভাগবতপ্রধান। সর্ব্ব পুরাণের বাক্য করিয়া সন্ধান॥ (pp. 8-9)

Nityānanda-dāsa is not clear on this point; but he says that at the direction (আজ্ঞা) of Rūpa and Sanātana, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa undertook the work. After it was completed Sanātana gave it to him and he took it as his own work and put his own Guru's name in it (গ্রন্থ পূর্ণ হইলে সমর্পিল সনাতনে। নিজগ্রন্থ করি তাহা করিল প্রচারে॥ তাহাতে লিখন নিজ গুরুর বর্ণন।)

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on the basis of the outlines taught. Moreover, Kṛṣṇadāsa expressly ascribes this work to Sanātana in two passages (Madhya, i, 35; Antya iv, 221). These testimonies cannot be lightly set aside, but in the text itself Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship is unambiguously declared. If Manohara's proposed solution to the difficulty implies that Sanātana wrote an outline of the work, which Gopāla Bhaṭṭa elaborated with copious illustrative passages, the presumption is ingenious but is entirely without evidence.[1] That Sanātana had, besides writing its commentary, a direct connexion with the text, seems highly probable; at the same time, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship, expressly declared in it, cannot be easily dismissed. It is undisputed that Sanātana, with his equally able brother Rūpa, was the acknowledged centre of inspiration of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava group at Vṛndāvana; but, if Gopāla is presumed to have merely elaborated a previous work of Sanātana, it is extremely unlikely that he should have failed to acknowledge this basis of his labours and appropriated the work to himself, especially as he actually mentions that he wrote

[1] Equally unfounded and unconvincing is the suggestion of some modern writers (Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature*, Calcutta University, 1922, p. 290; followed by Kennedy, *Caitanya Movement*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1925, p. 137) that Sanātana's name was not officially associated with the work because his defection from Hinduism to Islam before becoming a Vaiṣṇava had created a prejudice and stood in the way of the acceptance of this ritualistic work. If this were so, it is unintelligible why the alleged prejudice did not stand in the way of Sanātana's name being associated officially with the works of Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and others, or of his own *Bhāgavatāmṛta* and *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* being accepted as authoritative. As a matter of fact, we have no satisfactory evidence of Sanātana's alleged conversion to Muhammadanism. No doubt, he became, along with his brother Rūpa, a high official at the Muhammadan court at Gauḍa, and it is said that he was known by the Muhammadan name or title of Dabir Khas (= Private Secretary) before Caitanya gave him the devotional name of Sanātana; but there is nothing unusual in this, and there is no evidence to show that he actually adopted the Muhammadan faith. On the contrary, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* tells us (pp. 42-43) that Sanātana and Rūpa, whose descent is traced (after Jīva's account) to a Karṇāṭa Brahmin family, invited a colony of Karṇāṭa Brahmins to settle near Ramakeli, and kept up with them their inherited social and religious practices, only considering themselves impure because of their contact with the Mlecchas. We are told that they kept themselves in touch with the Vaiṣṇava group at Navadvīpa, and this explains their eagerness to meet Caitanya of whom they had heard so much. Sanātana learnt the Śāstras from one Vidyāvācaspati of Navadvīpa, whom he mentions reverentially as his Guru in one of the opening verses of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*. Of Sanātana, Kṛṣṇadāsa says (Madhya xix, 17): भट्टाचार्य पण्डित विप्र चिप्र लञा। भागवतविचार करे सभाते वसिञा॥ This surely is not the description of an outcast. The stupendous Śāstric learning and Vaiṣṇava disposition of the two brothers, which undoubtedly prompted Caitanya to impose on them the fitting task of composing the entire authoritative devotional literature of the sect, could not have been acquired in a day; and it undoubtedly points to the retention of their ancestral faith from the very beginning.

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the work for the satisfaction of Sanātana and others. In a similar case, Jīva Gosvāmin does not fail to express his indebtedness to an outline prepared by an unnamed Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa (by which reference he is supposed to mean Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself), on which he based his own elaborate *Ṣaṭ-saṃdarbha*. It seems probable, therefore, that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as stated in the work itself, was the actual author of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, but the attribution to Sanātana might have arisen from a kind of close collaboration, which will remain undetermined, between this doyen of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in making this voluminous compilation.

From the above discussion it will be clear that the various legends and traditions about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa should be taken with extreme caution. Apart from pious belief, the following conclusions arise inevitably from the available facts:

(1) According to the description given by himself, the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who composed the ritualistic work *Kāla-kaumudī*, and the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and *Rasika-rañjanī* commentaries, was the son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha, and belonged to Drāviḍa. It is not known what connexion he had with the Caitanya sect; but if the Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda story is excluded, there are several facts in favour of his identification with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect. The absence of Namaskriyā to Caitanya in his *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and other works, though suspicious, is not decisive; for the two *Dūta-kāvyas*, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin do not also contain such Namaskriyā. The commentary gives ample evidence that the author was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and there is hardly anything in it which does not subscribe to the peculiar tenets of Caitanyaism. On the contrary, it refers at the very commencement to the characteristic doctrine of the Bengal school that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the Avatārin, the supreme deity himself. It also believes in the other important doctrine of the Bengal school that the deity possesses a supersensuous and blissful form, which is adolescent (*kiśora*) and quasi-human (*narākṛti*), always sporting at Vṛndāvana, and which is the highest object of adoration. With very minor modifications it comments upon the Bengal recension of the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, and does not accept the South Indian text in spite of the author's declared Dravidian origin. All this makes it likely that the commentator was a Vaiṣṇava who accepted the views of the Bengal school; and the presumption is strengthened by the fact that he quotes directly (in both cases citing by the title of the works) from the two authoritative Rasa-treatises of Rūpa Gosvāmin, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, a fact which would also indicate that the commentary could not have been composed before Śaka 1463 (=1541

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A.D.), which is the date of the composition of the first of these cited works. Against these arguments in favour of the identity of the two Gopāla Bhaṭṭas, the somewhat curious fact may be urged that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in spite of his homage to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as one of his Śikṣā-gurus, does not anywhere refer to or make use of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary in his own *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*; on the contrary, he accepts and expands Caitanya-dāsa's *Subodhanī* commentary on the same. But this circumstance need not present a serious difficulty.

(2) There is, however, no direct evidence to identify him with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins of the Caitanya sect. The personal history of this Gosvāmin is, at best meagre and fatuous; his lineage, as given in the records of the sect is vague, conflicting and obviously legendary; whether he belonged at all to Southern India is not certain. In his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, the authorship of which also is shrouded in mystery, he decribes himself as writing for the satisfaction of Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa, and as the Śiṣya of Prabodhānanda; but he does not give his own ancestry or place of origin. The history of this Prabodhānanda is not clear, and it is very doubtful if he was (as alleged by Nityānanda, Narahari and Manohara) an uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa; for the story of Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda is suspiciously legendary and uncorroborated.

The question is further complicated by the discovery of another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who wrote another but an entirely different commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, entitled *Śravaṇāhlādinī*, and who apparently also belonged to Bengal. A MS. of this commentary was first noticed by S. R. Bhandarkar in his *Catalogue of the collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College* (Bombay, 1888, p. 135) under the serial number 178 of 1879-80; the MS. now exists in the Bhandarkar Research Institute under the same number. The MS. is written in old Devanagari script which uses occasional *pṛṣṭha-mātrā*, and consists of 145 folios. In one of the opening verses [1] the author bows to his Guru, named Nārāyaṇa, and in two of the concluding verses supplies some information about himself. The name of the author's father is given in one of these verses as Bhaddat-(? Udyat-) phaṇa; [2] and we are informed that the commentary was

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1 यत्पादवारिजरजःकणिकैकवन्धुर्मूर्कोऽपि प्राप्तविदुषां पदवीं प्रयाति ।
अज्ञद्विपैकशरणं करुणाकरं तं नारायणं गुरुमहं सततं नमामि ॥

2 श्रीगोविन्दपदारविन्दभजनत्यक्ताखिलार्थोद्यमः
श्रीमद्भागवतार्थवित्समभवद् भद्यत्फणी (? उद्यत्फणी) विश्रुतः ।
श्रीराधारमणाङ्घ्रिपद्ममनसा गोपालभट्टेन त-
त्तुष्येत्र नवपाल्यतस्य रचिता टीकासु सत्प्रीतये ॥

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composed to please the author's friend Vanamāli-dāsa and younger brother Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.[1] The Bengal origin of the commentary is indicated by the fact that it follows the Bengal recension of the text, and cites not only Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* (fol. 22b), but also the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (fol. 16a, 19b) of Rūpa Gosvāmin, earlier than which last work (i.e. earlier 1541 A.D.) it could not have been written. It follows generally the views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism.

The mention of yet another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, belonging to Bengal, is found incidentally in a sub-commentary on the *Bhāgavata*,[2] entitled *Dīpikā-dīpana*. It is a commentary on the *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* commentary of Śrīdhara-svāmin. The author Rādhāramaṇa-dāsa speaks of himself in the opening verses as devoted to the service of Śrīmad Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (*śrīmad-gopāla-bhaṭṭānāṃ dāsye saṃsakta-mānsaḥ*), as a worshipper of (the image of) Rādhāramaṇa (*rādhā-ramaṇa-sevinā*) and as a friend of Kṛṣṇagovinda (*kṛṣṇagovinda-mitreṇa*). Is this Gopāla Bhaṭṭa different from those mentioned above?[3]

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1 तैरर्थरत्नैर्वनमालिदासमित्रस्य कर्णद्वयमात्मनश्च ।
विभूषयामीह तथैव लक्ष्मीनारायणस्याप्यनुजस्य कण्ठम् ॥

2 Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Introd., p. xvii.

3 Thanks are due to my friend, Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for loan of the Institute MSS. utilized in this article.

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SOME IMPORTANT OFFICERS OF THE SULTĀNS OF DELHI

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

In a previous issue of the *Indian Culture* (Vol. II, No. 4) I have given a brief account of the position and functions of the *Wazīr*. Although the *Wazīr* was undoubtedly the chief officer of the state, yet there were numerous other functionaries, high and low, who influenced the decisions of the Sultāns and carried on the business of administration. Unfortunately, however, it is hardly possible to gather complete details about them, for the chroniclers of the period found no interest in administrative history. The best course open for us is to string together the incidental references scattered in their pages.

The most powerful man in the state, next to the Sultān himself, was the *Nāib-i-Malik* [1] or Deputy of the Sovereign. He can hardly be regarded as an officer in the strict sense of the term, for his powers and functions approximated those of a regent. During the reign of Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn became Deputy of the Sovereign on account of the Sultān's youth,[2] and 'by virtue of his deputy-ship, he took the affairs of the kingdom in his own hands, and in conjunction with the Wazir . . . . assumed control over the disposal of state affairs'.[3] It is interesting to note that 'the Maliks, Amīrs, *'Ulamā*, Sadrs, and the chiefs of the troops and Grandees of the capital were assembled together in the sublime audience hall for the purpose of the public rendering of fealty, all pledged their allegiance to the sovereignty of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh, and the Deputy-ship (Lieutenancy) of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn, Aet-kin'.[4] This ceremonial rendering of fealty to the Deputy of the Sovereign along with the Sultān was probably necessary in order to make it obligatory upon all the nobles to recognize the authority of one of their number, for the nobles in those days were extremely jealous of one another. In any case, this ceremony serves to emphasize the special importance of the position occupied by the *Nāib-i-Malik*. Nor was Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn the only Deputy of the Sovereign during the period. Malik

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[1] Barani, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 126. Both Elliot and Raverty speak of *Naib-i-Mulk* or Deputy of the state; but the correct reading of the designation should probably be *Naib-i-Malik* or Deputy of the Sovereign.

[2] Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 751.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 650.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 750-751.

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Qutb-ud-dīn Husain was Deputy of the Sovereign during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh.[1] He was forced to 'obtain martyrdom' by the treachery of some of the nobles, who 'conveyed to the hearing of the Sultān' a remark of the Deputy 'which was contrary to the sublime opinion'.[2] The most famous Deputy of the Sovereign was Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban,[3] who actually governed the kingdom during the weak reign of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. During the reign of Kaiqubād, Malik Nizām-ud-dīn became Deputy of the Sovereign, and 'the government of the country was in his hands'.[4]

The office of the Deputy of the Sovereign was a symptom of the weakness of the monarchy. It is significant that neither Iltutmish nor Balban, the two strong men of the Slave dynasty, entrusted the business of government to deputies. It is only when a Bahrām Shāh or a Kaiqubād sits upon the throne that we come across the installation of over-mighty subjects as *de facto* governors of the kingdom. It is easy to see that this system of delegating royal powers to outsiders was extremely dangerous. The monarchy, the legitimate seat of authority, shrinks into the background, leaving the field clear for baronial intrigues and personal rivalry. In an age when it was difficult for the Crown itself to enforce its proper authority over the ambitious and unscrupulous barons, it was too much to expect that the authority of an outsider occupying the position of the Deputy should be implicitly obeyed. The system might guarantee strong administration and peace when there was a Balban to work it, but generally it was detrimental to the interests of the Monarchy and the people alike. It should be noted that the successors of the Slave Kings did not utilize the services of any Deputy of the Sovereign. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that the strengthened position of the Monarchy rendered it unnecessary for it to take shelter behind, or to yield to, aggressive baronial claims.

The office of the Deputy of the Sovereign should not be confused with that of the *Nāib Sultān* or the Sultān's vicegerent who had to carry on the Sultān's duties during his absence. Thus, when Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq went to Bengal, his eldest son and heir-apparent acted as *Nāib Sultān*.[5] Firūz Shāh Tughluq used to leave his faithful *Wazīr* Khān-i-Jahān to deputise for him whenever he left the capital.[6] The appointment of a *Nāib Sultān* was a political and

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[1] Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 661.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 702.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 805.
[4] Barani, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 126.
[5] Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 451.
[6] 'Afif, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 368.

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military necessity, occasioned by frequent emergencies demanding the temporary absence of the Sultān from the capital. It was not a concession snatched from an impotent Monarchy by an over-powerful nobility.

One of the most important officers was the *Amīr-i-Hājib* or Lord Chamberlain. He was often entrusted with military duties. The *Amīr-i-Hājib* of Iltutmish was at the head of his troops when he fought against Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabacha of Sind.[1] When Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban was *Amīr-i-Hājib* under Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, he 'was nominated to the head of an army sent against the Mughals'.[2] The occupants of this high office seem also to have served as provincial governors. Raverty says that the province of Hānsī 'appears to have been the peculiar appanage of the *Amīr-i-Hājib*'.[3] A case is on record in which the *Amīr-i-Hājib* tried to usurp the chief power in the kingdom.[4] On his accession to the throne Bahrām Shāh seems to have given his confidence to Malik Badr-ud-dīn Sunqar who 'became *Amīr-i-Hājib* and assumed the direction of state affairs'. This assumption of the direction of state affairs by the *Amīr-i-Hājib* was an encroachment upon the functions of the *Wazīr*, and the inevitable result was rivalry between the two officials. The *Amīr-i-Hājib* 'used to seek to acquire superiority over the *Wazīr* . . . . . and liked to issue his own orders', while the *Wazīr* 'was in the habit of influencing the Sultān's disposition' against his rival. When 'the Sultān's temper became quite changed' towards the *Amīr-i-Hājib*, the latter tried to dethrone Bahrām Shāh. The alertness of the *Wazīr* destroyed the plot, and the unsuccessful *Amīr-i-Hājib* had to pay the penalty with his life. We clearly see, therefore, that although the *Amīr-i-Hājib* was officially the occupant of a ceremonial office and concerned primarily with the ceremonies of the court, yet circumstances might allow him to enjoy the supreme power in the state.[5]

There was a *Nāib Amīr-i-Hājib* or Deputy Lord Chamberlain.[6] Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, who occupied this office under Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, also governed Jhanjhānah.[7]

The *Bārbak* was the Master of Ceremonies[8] or Grand Usher.[9] His main duty was to present the petitions of the people to the

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[1] Raverty, p. 613.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 678.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 693, note 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 650–655, 658–662.
[5] The *Amīr-i-Hājib* is referred to indifferently as *Malik-ul-Hujjāb, Sayyid-ud-Hujjāb, Malik Khās Hājib, Hājib*, etc. Cf. Raverty, p. 820.
[6] Raverty, pp. 709, 759; Barani, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 139, 162.
[7] Raverty, p. 759.
[8] According to Raverty.
[9] According to Ishwariprasad (*A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, Vol. I, p. 262).

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Sultān when the latter sat on the throne.[1] Minhāj-ud-dīn refers to *Ulugh Bārbak* or Chief Master of Ceremonies.[2] References to *Nāib Bārbak*[3] are numerous. Muhammad Tughluq occupied the office of Bārbak before his father's accession to the throne. Firūz Shāh Tughluq served under him as *Nāib Bārbak*. That *Bārbaks* were entrusted with occasional military duties, is clearly shown by the fact that Malik Kāfur was a *Bārbak* when he was sent to the Deccan.

Another prominent officer was the *Wakīl-i-dar* (also known as *Rasūl-i-dar* and *Hājib-ul-Irsāl*[4]). It is difficult to give an accurate idea of his functions. Raverty says that he was the 'Representative in Dar-bār'[5]; another writer[6] describes him as 'the officer who superintended the ceremonies of presentation'. Another writer[7] says that he performed 'the secretarial functions of the court'. In any case, he seems to have been a very influential functionary.[8] Raihān, who occupied this post during the reign of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, was a powerful man.[9] There are[10] many references to the office of the *Nāib Wakīl-i-dar*.

The *Kotwāl* was doubtless a very important official.[11] He was 'the custodian of peace and order'.[12] The capital of the empire had its own *Kotwāl*. When Balban marched against Tughril Khān, he left the capital in charge of the 'Kotwāl of Delhi', who was 'one of his most trusty adherents'. The 'whole business of the state' was entrusted to the *Kotwāl*, to whom the 'various officials' were subordinated.[13] It was the *Kotwāl* of Delhi and his people who set aside

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[1] Baranī, Calcutta Text, p. 578. It is difficult to understand why Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf (*Life and Conditions of the People of Hindusthan*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. I, 1935, No. 2, p. 170) describes the *Bārbak* as 'Master of the Rolls'.

[2] Raverty, p. 694.

[3] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 150.

[4] According to Dr. Ishwariprasad (*ibid.*, p. 265), the *Rasūl-i-dar* (or *Hājib-ul Irsāl*) was a different officer, whose function was 'probably' to introduce persons to the *Hājib*. Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf (*ibid.*, p. 168) identifies the *Bārbak* with the *Rasūl-i-dar*.

[5] Pp. 694, 829. What does this mean? Whose 'representative'?

[6] K. K. Basu, *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

[7] Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *ibid.*, p. 168.

[8] *Cf.* the remarks of Baranī, Calcutta Text, p. 576. Dr. Ishwariprasad says that the *Wakīl-i-dar* was the 'keeper of the keys of the palace-gates. This was an important office in the middle ages'. (*Ibid.*, p. 262.)

[9] Raverty, p. 827.

[10] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 126, 174.

[11] Compare the functions of this official during the Mughal period. J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 66–71.

[12] Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 273. He is also described (p. 266) as 'Minister of Police and Public Prosecutor'.

[13] Baranī, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 115.

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Balban's nomination and placed Kaiqubād on the throne.[1] The post seems to have been occasionally hereditary, for Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn, who held it under Balban and Kaiqubād, declares, 'I and my father have been *Kotwāls* of Delhi for eighty years'.[2] When 'Alā-ud-dīn occupied Delhi and 'pitched his camp' in the plain of Sīrī, 'the *Kotwāls* with the keys of the forts' came out to him.[3] 'Alā-ul-Mulk, who held the post of *Kotwāl* of Delhi under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, was a loyal servant of the Sultān; he was powerful enough to offer plain advice to his master.[4] When 'Alā-ud-dīn marched against the Mughals led by Qutlagh Khwāja, he 'placed the city (of Delhi), his women and treasure', under the 'charge' of this able lieutenant.[5] Provincial cities had their own *Kotwāls*. We are told by Minhāj-ud-dīn [6] that Iltutmish directed his *Sipāh-Sālār* to assume the office of *Kotwāl* of Gwalior on the conquest of that territory. There are references to the office of the *Kotwāl Bak.*[7]

In the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* we find a reference to the *Tajir begi* or Minister of Commerce.[8] It is difficult to describe his functions precisely.

The Muhtasib[9] was a powerful officer. He was the censor of public morals. It was necessary for Muslim Kings to 'appoint an Inspector or Censor of Public Morals, for regulating the lives of the people in strict accordance with the scriptural rules. The Censor's functions are to enforce the Prophet's commands and put down the practices forbidden by him (*amr wa nahi*),—such as drinking distilled spirits and fermented beer, *bhang* (i.e. hemp or *Cannabis sativa*) and other liquid intoxicants, gambling and certain kinds of sexual immorality..... The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy against the Prophet, and neglect of the five daily prayers and the fast of Ramzan by Muhammadans also lay within the province of the Censor'.[10] These remarks on the functions of the *Muhtasib* during the Mughal period undoubtedly apply to the period under review as well. It is hardly correct, therefore, to describe him as an 'officer of municipal police' and to say that his 'chief duty was to control the market, to examine the weights and measures, and watch the conduct of the people'.[11]

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[1] Baranī, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 124. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 160. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 166. It should be noted that Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq left Delhi under the charge of his son Muhammad when he went to Bengal, and Firūz Shāh Tughluq left the capital in charge of his *Wazīr* whenever he went out. (See *ante.*)
[6] Raverty, p. 620. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 709.
[8] B. De, Vol. I, p. 154. [9] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 502.
[10] J. N. Sarkar, *ibid.*, p. 30. [11] Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 273.

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The *Amīr-i-Ākhur* (or *Ākhur-bak* or *Ākhur-baki*,[1]) was the Superintendent of the Royal Stables or Master of the Horse. The holder of this office was generally a noble of position and influence. Raverty says [2] that this high office was 'only conferred upon distinguished persons'. Malik Jamal-ud-dīn Yākut, the Abyssinian, 'who was Lord of the Stables, acquired favour in attendance upon' Raziyyat [3] and led to her ruin. Malik Badr-ud-dīn, who occupied this office during the reign of Iltutmish, 'used never to be absent from the gate of the royal stable for a moment save through unavoidable necessity; and, whether on the move or stationary, he used to be always present in attendance at the threshold of sovereignty'.[4] Minhāj-ud-dīn [5] refers to the office of the *Deputy Lord of the Stables*.

The *Amīr-i-Shikār* was the chief Huntsman [6] or Lord of the Hunt.[7] This was a very high office, for we are told that Qutb-ud-dīn appointed Iltutmish as his *Sar-i-Jāndār* and then 'advanced him from one position to another until he raised him to the office of *Amīr-i-Shikār*'.[8]

The *Amīr-i-Majlis* is described by Raverty [9] as Lord of the Council, and by another writer [10] as 'the chief officer of the Durbār'. His precise functions are unknown.

Baranī refers to the *Chief Dewan* [11] and *Amīr Tūzak*.[12] It is difficult to discover what these officers did. We are told that 'Alā-ud-din was appointed *Amīr Tūzak* by Jalāl-ud-dīn.[13]

Under Iltutmish there was a Superintendent of the *Khālisah* (crown province) of Tabarhindah, the post being occupied by Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn-Karā-Kash.[14] We do not know whether any such officer existed under the successors of that Sultān.

The *Shaikh-ul-Islām* was the 'Muhammadan Patriarch' [15] or the Principal Religious Officer of the State.[16] The appointment of such an officer was necessary in the interest of Islām. It was also necessary in order to 'give a form' [17] to the religious functions claimed by the Sultāns. The occupants of this high office often played a very important part in political affairs. Sultān Bahrām Shāh once sent his *Shaikh-ul-Islām* to allay the sedition of the Amīrs.[18] Jamāl-ud-dīn, who occupied this office under Nāsir-ud-dīn, organized a

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[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 137–152.
[2] P. 642.
[3] Raverty, p. 642.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 752.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 752.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 604.
[7] Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 262.
[8] Raverty, pp. 603-604.
[9] Pp. 731, 761.
[10] Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 265.
[11] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 194.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[14] Raverty, p. 746.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 702.
[16] Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 262.
[17] Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *ibid.*, p. 139.
[18] Raverty, pp. 658-659.

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conspiracy against that King.[1] In making appointments to this high office the Sultāns sometimes obeyed the principle of heredity. After Jamāl-ud-dīn's death his post was conferred upon his son.[2]

The *Sadr-us-sudūr* was another prominent religious officer.

It is interesting to learn that the *Executioner* was a member of the council of Muhammad Tughluq.[3] In this connection we may recall the case of Masrur during the reign of Hārun al Rashid.

Many officers are referred to, but in some cases it is almost impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding their position and functions. Some names, with their approximate English equivalents, are given below:

Malik-al-Tujjār (chief of the merchants).[4]
Amīr Kohi (Director of Agriculture).[5]
Mir 'Arz (Minister of Petitions).
Mustaufi (Auditor).[6]
Ashrāf-i-Mamālik.[7]
Mushrif-i-Mamālik (Secretary of State).[8]
Chāshnīgīr (Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen).[9]
Sākī-i-Khās (Personal Cup-bearer).[10]
Sar-Dawāt-dār (Chief Keeper of the Private Writing Case).[11]
Yūz-bān (Keeper of the hunting leopards).[12]
Tasht-dār (Ewer-bearer).[13]

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[1] Raverty, p. 702.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 713.
[3] Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 472.
[4] This officer probably superintended the activities of the merchants. On the accession of Muhammad Tughluq, Malik Shihāb-ud-dīn was appointed to this post. (Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 63.)
[5] Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 498. Dr. Ishwariprasad (*ibid.*, p. 261) says: 'This was an office to manage the department of agriculture which was organized (under Muhammad Tughluq) mainly with a view to mitigate the severity of famine'. Firishta (Lucknow Text, p. 140) writes 'Amir Koli'.
[6] During the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq this officer supervised the accounts of *Diwan-i-Risālah* (office of correspondence) and *Diwan-i-Bandgān* (department of royal slaves). Raverty (p. 650) says that the word also means 'Head Clerk'.
[7] Raverty, p. 710.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 638. When Iltutmish decided to nominate Raziyyat as his heir, it was this officer who wrote out the royal decree. According to Raverty, the word 'Mushrif' signifies an examiner or authenticator of records and documents.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 723. There was also a *Nāib Chāshnīgīr*. (Raverty, p. 761.)
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 736, 746. A person holding this office under Iltutmish was promoted to the post of *Chāshnīgīr* (Raverty, p. 723).
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 736.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 745.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 745. When Malik Hindu Khān was promoted by Iltutmish from this office to the post of Treasurer, 'he did not give up the office of *Tasht-dār* up to the end of the Sultān's lifetime, and used, as heretofore, to perform the duties of personal Ewer-bearer'.

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Sharāb-dār (Keeper of Liquor).[1]
Sar-chatar-dār (Chief of the Canopy-bearers).[2]
Bahlah-dār (Bearer of the Privy Purse).[3]
Jāma-dār (Keeper of the Wardrobe).[4]
Shahnah (Superintendent).[5]
Khāsah-dār (Personal attendant).[6]
Shahnagī (Superintendent of territories).[7]
Musallā-dār (Keeper of the Royal Carpet).[8]
Farrāsh (Servant in charge of carpets, etc.).[9]
Dabīr (Secretary).[10]
Mir 'Imarat (Chief Engineer of the Kingdom).
Sharaf-al-Mulk (Financial Secretary).[11]
Diwan-i-Ashrāf (Accountant General).
Akabār Nawis (Recorders of news about foreigners).[12]

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[1] Raverty, pp. 748, 779. Under Iltutmish this office was held by Altūniāh, who later on became governor of Tabarhindah and perished with Raziyyat.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 748. Altūniāh held this office as well.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 752.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 754. There was a *Sar Jāma-dār* or Chief Keeper of the Wardrobe (Raverty, p. 758). Dr. Ishwariprasad (*ibid.*, p. 263) says that the *Sar Jāma-dār's* 'duty was to wave a *chowri* over the king's head to ward off the flies'.

[5] There was a *Shahnah* of the stable (Raverty, p. 754), a *Shahnah* of the elephants (Raverty, pp. 757, 761) and a *Shahnah* of rivers and vessels (Raverty, p. 757). Once an *Amīr-i-Majlis* was promoted to the office of *Shahnah* of the elephants. (Raverty, p. 761.) Compare the functions of the *Amīr-i-Ākhur*. Under Muhammad Tughluq there was an officer called *Amīr-i-Fīlān* or Lord of Elephants. (Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 262.) There was also a *Shahnah-i-bārgāh* or Superintendent of the Royal Court.

[6] Under Iltutmish this office was occupied by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban. (Raverty, pp. 802, 806.) Raverty (p. 802, note 1) says : '*Khāsāh-bardār* is the name formerly applied to a soldier whose arms were furnished by his master, and, in more recent times, applied to the bearer of *betel* box ; but we are not to suppose that Sultān I-yal-timish was so much of a Hindu as to chew *pān supāri*. The word above used seems to signify a page, henchman, or personal attendant, perhaps a falconer'.

[7] Raverty, p. 732. Raverty says that this word 'is rarely used by our author (i.e. Minhāj-ud-dīn) except with reference to those states and territories over which the Mughals obtained sway'.

[8] *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, K. K. Basu, p. 50.

[9] Raverty (p. 659) says that '*Farrāshīs* are servants of the houses of great men who spread the carpets, make the beds, and pitch the tents on journeys'. In one instance the Head *Farrāsh* 'acquired complete ascendency' over a Sultān's mind, 'and whatever he said to the Sultān that the Sultān would do'.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 635.

[11] Āmir Bakht, who occupied this office under Muhammad Tughluq, supervised the work of the *Diwan-i-Khānah* and enjoyed forty thousand dinars a year together with a jagir yielding an equal amount of revenue. (Ibn Batūta, French translation, Vol. III, p. 401.)

[12] These officers 'wrote a full account of the foreigners who visited India. They entered in their registers full particulars about them—their identity, their dress and the number of their retainers'. (Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 262.)

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Shiqdār (Collector of revenue).[1]
Faujdār (Revenue officer and magistrate).
'Āmil (Revenue Officer).
Khūt (Revenue Officer).[2]
Muqaddam (Revenue Officer).
Kārkun (Revenue Officer).
Mutsarrif (Revenue Officer).
Choudhuri (Revenue Officer).
Patwārī (Village Accountant).
Khazānchi (Treasurer).
Diwan-i-Mustakhrij (Revenue Officer).[3]
Muhardār (Keeper of the Royal Seals).
Kharitadār (Officer in charge of the Royal letter bag).[4]
Muhassal (Revenue Officer).
Mutsaddi (Clerks in charge of the gate of the Palace).[5]
Naqīb-al-Nuqbah (Officer regulating entrance to the Palace).
Pardādār (Chief of the gate-keepers).[6]
Bashmaqdār (Sandal-bearer of the king).[7]
Khazāin-i-Khās (Keeper of the Royal Jewellery).

This long but incomplete list[8] of officers may be concluded with a brief reference to the espionage system of the Sultāns of Delhi. Readers of Kautilya's Arthasāstra are aware of the important part played by the espionage system in Mauryan political organization. There are reasons to assume that it played no less important a part in the political system created by the Turkish conquerors of India. The reason is obvious. Affection was a rare virtue and loyalty was rarer still. No ruler could, therefore, afford

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[1] The holder of this office collected revenue from a *shiq* or subdivision of a province. Muhammad Tughluq divided the Mārāthā country into four *shiqs*. Dr. Ishwariprasad says (*ibid.*, p. 263) that the name *Shiqdār* 'was sometimes applied to the chief financial officer of a province or to a viceroy in his financial capacity'.

[2] This was generally the designation of petty Hindu landholders.

[3] It is impossible to give a precise idea about the position and functions of these revenue officers.

[4] Elliot and Dowson (Vol. III, p. 243) translate it into purse-bearer.

[5] Dr. Ishwariprasad (*ibid.*, p. 264) says that the *Mutsaddis* 'sat at the gate of the palace and did not allow any one to enter unless his name was entered in a register. In addition to the name they recorded the number of his attendants and the date and time of his arrival. The King himself inspected these registers. If any incidents occurred at the gate, they were also recorded'.

[6] Ibn Batūtāh (French translation, Vol. III, p. 280) says that this post was held by prominent nobles.

[7] Ishwariprasad, *ibid.*, p. 265.

[8] There were many judicial and military officers.

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to neglect the primary task of ensuring his own safety by organizing an effective espionage system.

We are told by Baranī [1] that, ' in his efforts to secure justice', Balban organized an efficient espionage system. He appointed confidential spies (*barīds*) [2] in all the fiefs, and throughout his territories; he also appointed them for great cities, and for important and distant towns. And that they might discharge their duties with efficiency and honesty he did not give them too large a field of observation. He never failed to attend to what came to his knowledge through these spies, and had no respect for persons in administering justice. These spies were greatly feared by the nobles and officials, and neither they nor their sons or dependants dared to distress any innocent person '. Baranī cites the example of Malik Bak-bak, governor of Budā'ūn. This powerful noble, ' in a fit of drunkenness, while at Budā'ūn, caused one of his domestic attendants to be beaten to death with scourges. Sometime afterwards, the Sultān went to Budā'ūn, and the man's widow complained to the Sultān. He immediately ordered that this Malik Bak-bak, chief of Budā'ūn, should be scourged to death in the presence of the widow. The spies (*barīd*) who had been stationed to watch the fief of Budā'ūn, and had made no report, were hanged over the gate of the town '. Such a system was undoubtedly necessary in order to prevent misgovernment and oppression in the provinces. Balban did not spare his own son. When Bughra Khan was appointed to the charge of ' Sāmāna, Sannām, and all their dependencies ', Balban ' sent spies (*barīd*) to watch over his proceedings, and took great pains to obtain information of his doings. The son accordingly conducted himself honourably and gave up improper indulgences '.[3]

The espionage system was further developed by ' Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. According to Baranī,[4] he 'provided so carefully for the acquisition of intelligence, that no action of good or bad men was concealed from him. No one could stir without his knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of nobles, great men, and officials, was communicated to the Sultān by his reporters. Nor were the reports neglected, for explanations of them were demanded. The system of reporting went to such a length, that nobles dared not speak aloud even in the largest palaces, and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs. In their own houses, night and

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[1] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 101.

[2] There are references (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 215) to '*Nāib* of the *barids*'.

[3] Baranī, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 112.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80.

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day, dread of the reports of the spies made them tremble. No word or action which could provoke censure or punishment was allowed to transpire. The transactions in the bazars, the buying and selling, and the bargains made, were all reported to the Sultān by his spies, and were kept under control'. Nothing less than such a well-controlled system of eternal vigilance could keep the ambitious and turbulent nobles in check.

The account [1] of Ibn Batūtāh [2] makes it clear that Muhammad Tughluq made an extensive use of spies (then known as *manhis*). There was a well-organized bureaucratic system: the report of spies working in different parts of the Empire and amidst different classes of the population, reached the Sultān through many intermediary officers. 'The fear of the spies was great, and even the highest officers felt afraid of them'.[3] The position of such spies seems to have been analogous to the *Khufia navis* or 'secret writer' of the Mughal period—a 'confidential agent' who 'reported secretly on events without any communication with the local authorities'.[4]

We may conclude with a brief reference to the *Kārkhānās* which have been elaborately described by 'Afif. The *Kārkhānās* provided the necessary supplies for all officials. They also provided the necessary supplies for the royal library, the royal jewel house, the royal pastures, the royal stables and the royal palaces and buildings. They were managed by a great noble who acted with the assistance of *mutasarrifs*. The *Kārkhānās* seem to have occupied a very important place in the administrative machinery of the Sultanate of Delhi. Their origin may probably be traced to Persia.[5]

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[1] Supported by the *Masalik*.
[2] French translation, Vol. III, pp. 386-87.
[3] Ishwariprasad, *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[4] J. N. Sarkar, *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[5] Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, *Ibid.*, p. 156.

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'THE TANTRAS: THE FIFTH VEDA'

By M. RENÉ GUÉNON

(*Introduction* [1] *on the author*)

There is a far too general impression in certain circles that orthodox traditional intellectuality cannot be seriously maintained, or cannot be maintained in its entirety, in the face of modern Western science; in the face of what passes for science in the West, we should perhaps say, since a large part of this so-called science is built upon pure hypothesis and cannot therefore be properly classed as knowledge of any kind. The impression of the impotence of orthodoxy, in the face of its 'scientific' adversaries, corresponds no doubt to a certain reality, and one which traditional teaching has always foreseen: the coming of a time when disorder and false ideas would prevail in the world; but the truth of ideas is plainly unaffected by the numerical preponderance of the ignorant, and the impotence here is actually in man, and not in the traditional standpoint with which he has become unable to identify himself. The impression is illusory then, when it is transported outside the realm of human contingencies, where questions of material preponderance have their place, into the realm of pure intellectuality where they have none, and the illusion, where it exists, rests upon a double ignorance which the supposedly 'scientific' outlook is designed to maintain: ignorance, first and foremost, of what traditional intellectuality really represents, and secondly of what is really represented by the modern Western mentality in its various aspects. The 'scientific' outlook, we say, is designed to perpetuate an ignorance of traditional intellectuality, in short of any intellectuality which relates its object to the unity of a transcendant principle; it is by this rejection of any superior principle that modern science is to be distinguished from the sciences of any other age, and the civilization of the modern West from that of any other time or place; it is also by this rejection, or 'liberation' as some like to call it, that modern science loses all real intellectual value, all possibility of synthesizing the multiplicity of facts which it studies in any sort of unity, and all possibility of

[1] This Introduction regarding the works of M. René Guénon is quite necessary for understanding the standpoint the author takes in respect of the Hindu Scriptures. The Introduction is prepared by Mr. Maciver, an Englishman studying Sanskrit at Santiniketan, who is himself most conversant with the works of René Guénon. Mr. Maciver has also translated this paper which is in French in the original.

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explaining these facts except in terms of ever-changing hypotheses, which means all possibility of really explaining them at all.

A proper understanding of the modern mentality is something which can only be acquired in the light of orthodox doctrine, and this for at least two reasons, firstly because the modern mentality only *exists* in virtue of its rejection of orthodoxy, and secondly because nothing can be thoroughly and profoundly understood except in the light of traditional doctrine; it necessarily follows therefore that those who have deserted their traditional paths for the will-o'-the-wisp of Western ideas are less qualified to know what they themselves are dealing with, and what influences they are serving, than those who have kept themselves rigorously from contact with the West.

Those who have any deep grasp of traditional doctrines can have very little use for modern science, and they do not need much acquaintance with it to convince them of the fact; in the East moreover this science is representative of an alien mentality with which the representatives of tradition have normally no need to concern themselves; those who are attached to modernism in one form or another are therefore apt to remain unaware that it is actually modern Western science which cannot for a moment be maintained in the face of traditional intellectuality. Perhaps for the most part this does not greatly matter, for those who are attached to modernism would generally be incapable of any profound attachment to tradition, either from a native incapacity of intellect, or else because the prejudices of the modern outlook have stamped them with an incurable deformity of mind. There may be some, however, who would be able and willing to discard the fetters of Western 'culture', if they understood its true character; it is their attention in particular that we wish to draw to the works of M. René Guénon.

These works have a somewhat unique character in modern times; not so much because they are constantly inspired by the purest traditional orthodoxy, which the East has always known and never ceased to know, but because this pure traditional doctrine appears under a Western name, in a Western tongue, and in short because the author's task has been to illuminate the chaos and disorder of the Western mind with it. To express the pure doctrine without distortion in terms of a mentality which is firstly so limited as that of the West, in its essential nature, and secondly so profoundly deformed as the result of a long process of decay, is something which calls for a closer acquaintance with Western civilization than any Oriental could acquire in the normal course of events. The importance of M. Guénon's works to such Orientals as have

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suffered the influence of the West, lies precisely in his ability to situate the components of modern Western civilization in their proper plan by the light of traditional doctrine, and also to situate the traditional civilization of the West, from which modern civilization is not derived by legitimate descent, in its proper place beside the traditional civilizations of the East, as an aspect of that perpetual and unanimous primordial tradition from which all are derived.

We have here, in fact, a traditional orthodoxy which transcends the forms of particular traditions, like that of Shri Râmkrishna, but accompanied by a precise and detailed knowledge of different traditions which Râmakrishna never possessed.

The works of M. René Guénon have not yet received much attention in India; partly, no doubt, because they are written in French and have in only one instance been translated and published in English, and partly, perhaps, because the one translation which has appeared in English is at times defective, and always very far from reproducing the author's characteristic clearness and simplicity of style. To our knowledge these works have only twice been noticed in Indian periodicals; once in 'Triveni' (Jan.-Feb., 1935) where they formed the subject of a very interesting article entitled 'Oriental Knowledge and Occidental Research' by M. André Préau, and once in the 'Visva-Bharati Quarterly' (Nov.-Jan., 1935-1936) where a chapter from one of M. Guénon's books, 'The Crisis of the Modern World' was presented in translation by Mr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, under the title of 'Sacred and Profane Science'.

Mr. Coomaraswamy prefaced his translation with a short introductory note in which he identified himself with the traditional standpoint of the author and declared that in his view no one writing in a modern Western tongue 'is more significant than René Guénon whose task it has been to expound the universal metaphysical tradition that has been the foundation of every past culture, and which represents the indispensable basis for any civilization deserving to be so called'. In detailing the author's works Mr. Coomaraswamy drew particular attention to 'Man and his Becoming according to the Vedânta' as 'probably the best account of the Vedânta available in any European language'; it is this book which has unfortunately been the victim of an inadequate English rendering. We make particular mention of Mr. Coomaraswamy, because his name commands an attention which our own does not, and also because certain recent works of his, which seem to have been a cause of some perplexity amongst Orientalists, find an almost indispensable complement in the works of M. Guénon.

The article of M. Guénon's which we now present is characteristic; it was published this year in the August–September number of

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'Etudes Traditionnelles', a French periodical to which he is a regular contributor, and we have translated it as a particularly cogent proof that the representatives of orthodox intellectuality who are familiar with certain of the pretended 'conclusions' of modern science are as much entitled and indeed obliged to disregard them as those who have never heard of them at all; if they concern themselves with such things as the so-called 'law of progress', or its corollaries, it can only be to reduce them to whatever vestige of legitimacy they may possess and to demonstrate their intellectual impossibility beyond these limits ; for it is not maintained that Western science is altogether false, but only that its legitimate field is rigorously and fatally limited to the realm of material phenomena, to the exclusion of all that transcends them; this suffices, however, to deprive it of any real intellectual interest.

We must especially emphasize the fact that this article was originally destined for a public which is already familiar with the author's works, and therefore in a position to know exactly what there is behind modern science ; those who lack this advantage may well have a number of more or less serious objections to make, but provided it is not assumed that these cannot be met, because they are not met here, then the article may serve its purpose ; we have meant it only as an introduction to the author's works, and of these a very considerable part is devoted to meeting possible objections in advance, so much so that no one who knows them would be likely to complain of a deficiency in this respect. We do not wish to suggest that every possible objection has been met, for if the author confined himself entirely to answering the objections that can be foreseen, the task would probably be enough to absorb all his activities, to the actual exclusion of his principal aim, which is the presentation of orthodox doctrine; and apart from that the number of possible objections to a point of doctrine is equal to the number of ways of misunderstanding it, and therefore indefinite. But plainly there is no real presumption that an objection cannot be met in the fact that it has not been met explicitly, and actually it will very seldom be found that an objection has not been met by implication and in its germ, as it were, in M. Guénon's works. What must never be lost of, in any case, is that where traditional doctrines are concerned one is no longer faced with 'profane science', but with 'Sacred Science', which rests not upon hypotheses and mere probabilities, but upon absolute metaphysical certainties, and is therefore in a position to answer any objection whatsoever, given the occasion, and provided always that there is anything to be gained by doing so.

Of the various peculiarly modern errors which we have often had to denounce, one which sets itself most flatly in the way of any

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proper understanding of traditional doctrines is what may be called 'historicalism', which is really only a simple consequence of the 'evolutionist' mentality: it consists in the supposition that everything must have started from the crudest and most rudimentary beginnings and subsequently have undergone a progressive elaboration, resulting in the appearance of particular conceptions at given times, the time being always more recent in proportion as the conception is taken to be more elevated; the implication is that ideas of such an *elevated* order could only be 'the product of an already *advanced* civilization', to use an expression which has become so common as often to be repeated more or less mechanically even by people who are trying to *react* against this sort of mentality, but who have only 'traditionalist' intentions, without any kind of real traditional knowledge. This way of thinking must be countered with the plain statement that it is at its *origin*, on the contrary, that everything belonging to the spiritual and intellectual sphere is found in a state of *perfection*, from which it has continuously departed ever since, during the gradual 'darkening' which necessarily accompanies every cyclic process of manifestation this fundamental law which we must be content to recall here without going into further developments, is clearly sufficient to reduce all the conclusions of what is called 'historical criticism' to nothing. It is to be further remarked that there is a definite purpose behind 'criticism' of this kind, which is to deny the possibility of any *superhuman* element and to treat traditional doctrines themselves as purely *human* 'thought', on exactly the same level as philosophy and the profane sciences; here again no compromise of any sort is possible, the fact being that it is really this profane 'thought', which is of such recent origin and which could only have appeared, we may say, as 'the product of an already advanced degeneration', to turn the phrase which we quoted further back in an 'anti-evolutionist' sense.

Applying these general considerations to the Hindu tradition, it has to be stated, contrary to the opinion of the Orientalists, that what are called 'Vedism', 'Brahmanism', and 'Hinduism' have absolutely no existence; they do not exist, we mean, if they are to be understood as doctrines which have made their appearance and replaced one another at successive epochs, each epoch characterized by essentially different, not to say more or less antagonistic conceptions, which have thus arisen one after another as the outcome of mere 'reflection' conceived upon the model of simple philosophical speculation. If the terms 'Vedism', 'Brahmanism', and 'Hinduism' must be maintained, they are to be taken only as so many names for a single tradition; as such all of them are quite fitting, and the most that could be said is that each refers more specially to a particular

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aspect of the tradition, but these different aspects are all inseparably connected and cannot be detached from one another in any way. This follows directly from the fact that, in principle, the tradition which we speak of is contained in its entirety in the Veda, and consequently that whatever is opposed to the Veda or falsely derived from it is excluded from this tradition, under whatever aspect it is viewed; the unity and immutability of the doctrine are thus ensured, and this whatever the developments and adaptations which may be *occasioned* in response to the particular needs and aptitudes of different ages.

It should, in fact, be clearly understood that the changelessness of the doctrine in itself is no obstacle to any sort of developments or adaptations, so long as these always rest in strict accord with principles; at the same time, of course, they can never constitute any sort of a 'novelty', for in every case it can only be a question of rendering explicit what was always implied in the doctrine from the very beginning, or alternatively of setting forth the same truths in different terms so as to make them more accessible to the mentality of a 'darker' age. What could at first be grasped immediately and without difficulty in the actual principle, could no longer be found there by men of later ages, apart from exceptions, so that it became necessary to make up for the general lack of understanding with a profusion of explanations and commentaries, none which had ever before been needed; further, as the capacity for direct attainment of pure knowledge continued to dwindle, it became necessary to open up other 'ways' which made use of ever more contingent means and thus kept pace, so as to rectify it as far as possible, with the 'descent' which continued from age to age as earthly humanity fulfilled its cycle. Hence, for its transcendent ends, one may say that the more the intellectual and spiritual level of humanity declined, the more means it received of attaining them, so that all that offered any possibility might still be rescued, with due allowance for conditions which must necessarily prevail as a result of cyclic laws.

These are the considerations which permit a proper understanding of the place occupied in the Hindu tradition by what is usually given the name of 'Tantrism', this place being that of a body of teachings and means of 'realization' which are more particularly suited to the conditions of the *Kali-Yuga*. It would be quite wrong therefore to regard it as a doctrine apart, and even more so as some sort of 'system', as Westerners are only too ready to do; really it is rather in the nature of a 'spirit', if the expression be permitted, which is more or less diffused throughout the whole of the Hindu tradition as it stands at present, and in such a way that it would be almost impossible to attribute exact and clearly defined

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frontiers to it; so when it is reflected that the start of the *Kali-Yuga* goes back far beyond what are recognized as 'historical' times, it has to be granted that actual origin of Tantrism, far from being as 'late' as is claimed by some, must of necessity elude the limited *means* at the disposal of *profane* investigation. Moreover when we speak of its origin and make it actually coincide with that of the *Kali-Yuga*, as we do here, this is only half true; to be exact, it is only true when it is specified that what is in question Tantrism as *such*, we mean as the *expression* or *outward* manifestation of something which, like all the *rest* of the tradition, *always* existed in *principle* in the Veda itself, although it was more explicitly *formulated* and *developed* in its applications only when circumstances came to require it. It will thus be seen that there is a double point of view to consider here: on the one hand Tantrism can be found in the Veda itself, because it is contained there in its principle; but on the other hand, it cannot correctly receive a name as a distinct aspect of the doctrine until the moment when it is made explicit for the reasons which we have noted, and it is in this *explicit* aspect and this aspect only that it can be considered as peculiar to the *Kali-Yuga*.

The name of Tantrism derives from the fact that the teachings which form its basis are set forth in treatises bearing the generic title of Tantras, and this name is directly bound up with the symbolism of weaving which we have spoken about elsewhere, for *tantra*, in its strict sense, is the 'warp' of a cloth; we have pointed out that words of the same meaning are *also* to be found in *other places* applied to Sacred Books. These Tantras are often regarded as forming a 'fifth Veda', specially destined for men of the *Kali-Yuga*, and this would be altogether unjustified if they were not derived from the *Veda*, understood in its *strictest* sense, as an adaptation to the conditions of a particular epoch; this we have already explained. It is essential too to grasp that the Veda, in its principal and as it were 'timeless' state, is really one, before becoming threefold and then fourfold in its expression; should it then become fivefold at the present day in view of further developments needed for less 'open' faculties of understanding, which can no longer work so directly in the realm of pure intellectuality, it is clear that this will not have any greater effect upon its primitive unity, for this is essentially its 'perpetual' (sanâtana) aspect, and therefore independent of the special circumstances of any and every age.

The doctrine of the Tantras then is nothing and can indeed be nothing but a development from certain view-points, and a perfectly normal one, of what is already contained in the Veda, for it is thus and thus alone that it can form an integral part of the Hindu tradition, as in fact it does. As for the means of realization (sâdhana)

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prescribed by the Tantras, by the same token they can be said to be directly derived from the Veda, for they are really only the application and the putting into practice of this doctrine. Every kind of rite, either of capital or subordinate importance, should of course be included amongst such means, and if they seem all the same to wear a certain aspect of 'novelty' when contrasted with what preceded them, the reason is that there was no need to conceive of these means in previous ages, except perhaps as mere possibilities, for people had no need of them then, and had others at their disposal which were more suited to their nature. In this there is something exactly comparable to the special development of a traditional science at some given time; a development of this kind is just as little a spontaneous 'appearance' or an 'innovation', for here again it can only be a matter of applying principles, and in such principles every application pre-exists at least implicitly and so could at any moment be made explicit, if there were any reason for it; but in actual fact such a reason is not to be found except in the contingent circumstances which characterize a particular epoch.

Now the impossibility of practising strictly 'Vedic' rites, as they were 'in the beginning', follows only too plainly from the simple fact that *soma*, which plays a capital part in them, has been lost for a time beyond 'historical' reckoning; and it must be clearly grasped that when we speak of *soma* here, it should be taken to signify a whole body of things originally manifest and accessible to all, which in the course of the cycle has become hidden, at least from ordinary humanity. Henceforward 'substitutes' for these things were needed, which naturally had to be found in a lower sphere than the first; thus the 'supports' by which the possibility of a 'realization' was maintained became ever more and more materialized from age to age, keeping pace with the downward march of cyclic manifestation; a comparison of the ritual uses of wine and *soma*, for instance, would furnish a symbolical example of this. When we speak of 'materialization' however, it should not be simply taken in the very narrow sense which is commonest; as we understand it, it may be said to start as soon as one leaves pure knowledge, which is also the only pure spirituality; and the appeal to factors pertaining to sentiment or will, for instance, is not one of the least signs of this kind of 'materialization', even if such factors are used in a legitimate way; are used, that is, only as means, subordinated to an end which is always knowledge; were they not so, indeed, one could no longer speak of 'realization' at all, but only of a deviation, an imitation or a parody, all of the things which are rigorously excluded by traditional orthodoxy, whatever form or level it may take.

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This last observation of ours is exactly applicable to Tantrism, which, generally speaking, offers more of an 'active than' a 'contemplative way', or in other words is more associated with 'power' than with knowledge; and a particularly significant fact in this connection is the prominence which it gives to what is called the 'heroic way' (*vîra-mârga*). The term *vîrya* which is equivalent to the Latin *virtus*, at all events in the acceptation which it had before it was brought down to a 'moral' plane by the Stoics, is clearly expressive in its strict sense, of the essential and, one may say, 'typical' quality, not of the Brâhman, but of the Kshatriya; and the *vîra* is distinguished from the *pashu*, that is to say the being who is held by the bonds of ordinary existence, less by effective knowledge than by a wilful affirmation of 'autonomy', which, according to the use he makes of it, may just as well carry him away from the end, at this stage, as lead him to it. The danger, in fact, is that 'power' may be sought for its own sake alone, and so become a hindrance instead of a help and that the individual may thus come to make himself his own end; it goes without saying, however, that this is simply deviation and abuse, which can never spring from anything but lack of understanding, and for this the doctrine can in no way be held responsible; furthermore, what we say concerns only the 'way' in itself, and not the aim, because, we must insist, this is the same in every case, and can never be anything but knowledge, for it is *by* knowledge and *in* knowledge only that the being truly 'realizes' itself in all its possibilities. It is none the less true for that, that the means offered for attaining this end are stamped, as they must inevitably be, with the special characteristics of the *Kali-Yuga*: it should be recalled, in this connection, that the proper rôle of the 'hero' is always and everywhere depicted as a 'quest', which may be crowned with success it is true, but also may end in a reverse; and the 'quest' itself implies the existence, when the 'hero' appears, of something which has been lost beforehand and which it is for him to recover; this task, at the finish of which the *vîra* becomes *divya*, may be defined, if one likes as the search for *soma* or the 'draught of immortality' (*amritâ*), whose symbolism incidentally is exactly equivalent to that of the 'quest of the Grail' in the West; and by the recovery of *soma* the end of the cycle rejoins its beginning in the 'timeless'.

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'THIEME AND PĀṆINI'

By KSETRESH CHUNDER CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA

I have read with considerable interest Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's paper under the above caption in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 387–389, in which he has attempted a reply to the criticisms of Dr. Paul Thieme and myself in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 329–349, on Dr. Ghosh's article on 'Pāṇini and the *Ṛkprātiśākhya*' in *I.H.Q.*, X, pp. 665–670. I am, however, much pained at the personal heat that Dr. Ghosh has introduced in these impersonal discussions—*vide* his remarks like 'his previous Olympian hauteur' (p. 387), 'Every one but a Thieme . . . . will readily concede' (p. 387), 'Thieme's vituperative eloquence' (p. 388), 'this impudence on the part of Thieme' (p. 397), etc. etc. All this is uncalled for in a scientific controversy. It is also doubtful if such remarks raise a writer in the estimation of fellow scholars. I have carefully gone through the words of Dr. Thieme to find out if he has given sufficient provocation to Dr. Ghosh for using such expressions but I have failed to discover it. Dr. Thieme has *not* roundly accused him of 'critical conceit' as Dr. Ghosh has imagined (*I.C.*, IV, p. 387). In closing his paper Dr. Thieme has actually said only this: 'For I am satisfied that the scholastic method of interpretation . . . . has proved adequate in principle, and is warranted by the admirably consistent and accurate character of Pāṇini's work, which modern readiness to detect mistakes—it may be stated in fairness that the unjustifiable contempt for India's great grammarian is not peculiar to Dr. Ghosh alone—and modern "critical" conceit have failed to discredit' (*I.H.Q.*, XIII, pp. 342-3). It is quite evident from these words that with one little exception they are only general remarks, not applicable to any particular individual. It is only in the parenthetical reference that Dr. Ghosh comes in and that only in connexion with 'modern readiness to detect mistakes'. Dr. Ghosh has himself gratuitously laid claim to 'modern "critical" conceit' also, for which Dr. Thieme cannot be held responsible.

I have gone through Dr. Ghosh's fresh discussion of the problems but I am as unconvinced as before. He has also misunderstood and even misrepresented me at a number of places. Unfortunately, however, I have no leisure just now to enter into any discussion with him on these points. It would be, therefore, useless to point out where he has misunderstood me. I reserve all this for the time when I get sufficient leisure for an adequate discussion of the

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problems. This note is meant only for defending my friend Prof. Thieme against Dr. Ghosh's remarks on two points, where the responsibility is mine and the defence should, therefore, come from me. On other points Prof. Thieme will defend himself.

Dr. Ghosh has expressed surprise that in spite of his 'naturally' ignoring Prof. Thieme's dismissal of Dr. Ghosh's 'contentions with a contemptuous (?) remark in a footnote of his *Pāṇini and the Veda*' (pp. 61-62), Prof. Thieme 'has thought it necessary to write a long article (*I.H.Q.*, 1937, pp. 329–343) solely with the purpose of refuting' Dr. Ghosh's thesis. He adds 'Thieme can hardly accuse me of ill-will if I assume that only after three years' meditation he has been able to grasp the problems which were discussed in my first article, and it is hardly too much to expect that after another three years' meditation he will come round to the obvious solution given by me, which, by the way, has been accepted *in toto* by Prof. A. B. Keith (*I.C.*, 1936, pp. 742–744),—not to mention other renowned scholars who have intimated to me their approval of my thesis by personal communication' (*I.C.*, Vol. IV, p. 387).[1] This is very unfair to Prof. Thieme. I had already pointed out in *I.H.Q.*, XIII, p. 343, that Dr. Thieme's paper was written shortly after the publication of Dr. Ghosh's paper. Dr. Ghosh simply overlooked those words of mine and assumed that Dr. Thieme took full three years to reply elaborately to Dr. Ghosh's views. The facts are these. Dr. Ghosh's article appeared in the December 1934 issue of the *I.H.Q.*, but actually reached our hands early in 1935. I was personally interested in the problem of the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* and so was my friend Prof. Thieme.

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[1] Dr. Ghosh's attempt at overawing (or, in his own language, 'coercing') his opponents by a parade of authorities on his side is absolutely futile. A modern scholar cannot be expected to be thus cowed down. Dr. Ghosh should also have thought of the possibility of certain other 'renowned scholars' having intimated to us *their* approval of our thesis. I wonder why it was necessary for Dr. Ghosh to speak of his 'final *soutenance* in Paris in 1933 (about which reference may be made to Professors Renou, Foucher, and Bloch)' (*I.C.*, IV, p. 390). What earthly concern is it of anybody to find out from the three scholars named whether or not Dr. Ghosh's reference to his *soutenance* is correct? If Dr. Ghosh has hoped that by naming his judges in the *soutenance* he will secure some importance for his thesis, he is sadly mistaken. No Indian *vaiyākaraṇa* will recognize Professors Renou, Foucher, and Bloch as authorities on Pāṇini. Professors Renou and Bloch, though very good scholars on Indian linguistics, will themselves disclaim special knowledge of the Pāṇinean system. About the close of his paper, Dr. Ghosh has made another display of bad taste by saying 'And I hope also that he (Dr. Thieme) will intensively study the problem before making another pronouncement, for he can hardly expect that I or anybody will always be able to find time merely to point out some patent errors' (p. 399). May I ask, who has a better claim to 'Olympian hauteur', Prof. Paul Thieme, or his accuser, Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh?

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Thieme had also discussed from his own point of view the interpretation of Pāṇini I. 1. 16 and I. 1. 17-18 in his *Pāṇini and the Veda* which was then passing through the Press. We were in agreement in most of the questions raised by Dr. Ghosh. I, therefore, suggested to Prof. Thieme that we might publish a joint criticism of the paper of Dr. Ghosh. Thieme added only a brief note in the proofs of his *Pāṇini and the Veda*, not out of contempt, but because an elaborate criticism was in contemplation. We then wrote out independently our separate criticisms and then compared notes. We realized that we should both make some modifications in our respective papers. Prof. Thieme immediately made the necessary changes in his paper and handed it over to me before leaving India in August 1935. *It was my fault and not his that the paper was not published immediately after.* It was necessary that I should make certain changes in my paper, for which I got leisure only about the beginning of 1937. I revised my paper and made certain additions in footnotes in Prof. Thieme's paper and sent both for publication and they appeared in the June 1937 issue of the *I.H.Q.* Dr. Ghosh, of course, could not have known all this. But when I had definitely stated that Prof. Thieme's paper was written 'shortly after the publication of Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's paper', Dr. Ghosh had no justification for imagining that Thieme took three years to write out his paper.

The other point on which I owe to Dr. Thieme an explanation of his position is this. Dr. Ghosh wrote in *I.H.Q.*, X, p. 668, 'But Wackernagel (III, 97 b) has pointed out that in the case of *ū* there is nothing to show that in the Saṃhitā-text it has been actually treated as *pragṛhya'*. At that time no copy of the third volume of Prof. Wackernagel's *Allindische Grammatik* was available at Allahabad. Dr. Thieme and myself wondered how in view of *Ṛv. S.*, X. 183. 2, *svā'yāṁ tanū' ṝ'tvye nā'dhamānam*, Wackernagel or Ghosh could deny that the *Saṃhitā* text did show *ū* of the locative as a *pragṛhya* and Prof. Thieme, therefore, remarked, *I.H.Q.*, XIII, p. 333, n. 6, 'Relying on a statement of Wackernagel's, Ghosh wrongly asserts that "in the Saṃhitā-text it has been actually treated as *pragṛhya*".' At this Dr. Ghosh now remarks, *I.C.*, IV, p. 397, 'Thieme (p. 333, f.n. 6) takes me to task for relying on this statement of Wackernagel's, which he apparently considers to be incorrect. It is some consolation at least to see that Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, relying on whom Thieme accuses Wackernagel of inaccuracy, promptly dissociating himself from this impudence on the part of Thieme in the same footnote.' Neither Prof. Thieme nor myself was aware at that time that Wackernagel had made that statement in spite of *Ṛv. S.*, X. 183. 2, which he had actually quoted. That was the only inaccuracy in Prof. Thieme's remarks, which is solely

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due to lack of Wackernagel's book at Allahabad at that time. Thieme could not be expected to remember at Allahabad every line of Wackernagel read at Goettingen. I received my copy of the third volume of the *Altindische Grammatik* just before I revised our papers and I utilized that opportunity of correcting ourselves. The correction was only with reference to Wackernagel's use of *Ṛv. S.*, X. 183. 2. I did not dissociate myself from Prof. Thieme's disagreement with Wackernagel which Dr. Ghosh has thought fit to characterize as 'impudence', for I ended with saying, 'whatever that may be, the fact remains that in the Saṃhitā-text *gaurī* and *tanū* are followed by vowels with which they do not join in *sandhi*. Hence Pāṇini could easily take these (and similar) words as *pragṛhya in the Saṃhitā-text*' (*I.H.Q.*, XIII, p. 333, n. 6). Dr. Ghosh has read these words, for he has called them into question on the next page (*I.C.*, IV, p. 398). Consequently I have not accepted the view of Prof. Wackernagel. I do not think, therefore, that there was any material inaccuracy in Prof. Thieme's remarks.

I hope Prof. Thieme will himself answer the other criticisms of Dr. Ghosh. It will be some time before I shall have the leisure to join in the fray. I fear, however, that Dr. Ghosh may assume from my present silence that I have no reply to make. But I cannot help what he may or may not imagine. As the problems raised by Dr. Ghosh and ourselves are very important, I hope that the discussions will be continued, in which others will also join us. I also hope that a proper solution of our problems will be thus ultimately arrived at.

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MISCELLANEA

A NEW TYPE OF ANDHRA COIN

While the coins of the Western Kshatrapas are very numerous and the numismatic data of the dynasty remarkably full, the same cannot be said with regard to the Andhras. Prof. Rapson was the first scholar who built up a systematic numismatic account of the Andhra dynasty on the foundation laid down by Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji. He has made a very close division of the Andhra coins according to their types and tried to localise them on that basis. But as he has himself observed, a great portion of the early dominions of the Andhras being unexplored it will always be reasonable to expect new types of coins. Though the present coin is by no means anything in the nature of a new discovery, yet it is of sufficient importance to require publication.

Potin ; round ; broken edges on one side. Wt. 29 grs. Obverse : Elephant, in high relief, walking to right with raised trunk. Below can be seen the sign of a river. Immediately above the Elephant there is an Ujjain symbol, though it has become faint. Legend in Brâhmī, which begins from the left margin of the coin, reading *Râñô Śiri Sâ*[*ta*]. A figure like the lower portion of the letter *ta* can be seen on the top margin of the coin. The right edge is rather worn out.

Reverse : Tree with broad leaves within a circle. In between the branches can be seen small dots. The metal is in all probability potin.

It will be apparent from the above description that the two main features by which to judge the type and locality of this coin are the Elephant figure on the obverse and the tree on the reverse. The tree is a characteristic of the Andhra coins and of the coinage of certain chiefs who have generally been supposed to have been subordinates or feudatories of the Andhras. The latter class of coins, however, have trees with long and thick leaves issuing from a single stem. Similar is the case with the coins of the Andhra kings *Śri Sâta* and *Râñô Śri Sātakanni*. In none of these cases can the tree be said to have branches or limbs from which the leaves issue. Amongst the monetary issues of the Western Kshatrapas scarcely a coin can be found which has the tree reverse.

There is, however, one solitary copper coin of Nahapāna which is worth a close notice in this connection. It was obtained by

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Cunningham from Ajmere.[1] The obverse has the usual Arrow and thunderbolt of the Kshatrapas but the reverse shows a tree, within railing, having leaves which are greatly akin to those on this coin. There is nothing to associate the tree and the railing with Buddhism as was done by Cunningham in his description of the same coin. As we shall have occasion to point out below, Nahapāna was indebted to some Andhra coin for this particular specimen. It is worth while, therefore, to determine the exact source from which Nahapāna derived the reverse type of this issue. It is well known how Rapson has divided the Andhra coinage into two groups—A and B—according to their types.[2] The districts of group A are more or less certain but those of the group B are uncertain. The chief feature of the potin coins of the latter class is that they are round and have Elephant on the obverse and tree on the reverse. This is a sufficient clue to attribute our coin to the B group. To this group belong the coins which have been attributed to Gautamiputra on the rather doubtful evidence of a scanty legend. In the British Museum there is a specimen of a round potin coin which has been conjecturally attributed to Gautamiputra by Rapson. The obverse of this coin has an Elephant walking to right with trunk upraised ; above conch shell (?), Ujjain symbol. The reverse has tree with large leaves within railing divided into rectangular sections. It has also been noticed that the coin is of the period before the time of Nahapāna. Regarding the legend, Rapson says that such traces of an inscription as are visible on this coin seem to indicate that it may have been *Râñô Siri Sâ*[*takanisa*].[3] On the basis of such a doubtful legend, the attribution to Gautamiputra was obliged to be of a conjectural nature. If we now compare our coin with the above mentioned one of Gautamiputra we will be at once struck by the close similarity. The confirmatory test is provided by the legend which, in our coin, is clearly written as *Râñô Siri Sā*[*ta*]. Prof. Bhandarkar, who is the possessor of the coin, kindly informs me that it comes from Kāthiâwad which is in Western India. On the reverse of our coin the die was badly struck leaving aside a good portion of the coin blank. The lower portion of the tree which must have also been inside a railing, was left out. Even the dots between the branches are clearly seen in our coin as is also visible on the British Museum specimen. That this coin cannot be attributed to the Andhra chief designated on his coins as *Śri Sāta* and identified with *Śri Sātakarṇi* of the Nānāghāt inscription, is also

[1] Cunningham, Coins of Med. India, p. 6, Pl. 1, 5.
[2] Rapson, Kshatrapa Coins, p. xciv.
[3] Rapson, *ibid.*, p. 17, f.n. 1.

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A new type of Andhra Coin.

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clear from the letters of the coin legend. In the case of the latter king the dental *sa* is still *archaic* whilst the same in our coin has definitely assumed *the broad-backed style,* indicating thereby its later age. The way of denoting the medial *i* also points to the same conclusion. In the case of the earlier Sātakarṇi a *simple curled stroke to the left* is placed on the top of the letter whilst in the present case *this sign takes a twist to the right at the end.* We can with great certainty attribute this coin to Gautamiputra whose another specimen is in the British Museum. What Rapson conjectured long ago is now corroborated by this specimen. In all probability, this and the one in the British Museum are two different varieties of the same king. As I have said above the river sign is found in this coin just below the figure of the Elephant. No such sign is to be seen in the British Museum specimen or in any other type of Gautamiputra. One probable conjecture might be that this symbol in the latter group of coins might have been left off due to the die being somewhat bigger than the blank. Whatever might be the reasons we shall not be wrong to take the present issue to be a new type. It is clear enough now, that Nahapāna, if he was indebted to any Andhra type for his copper coin, must have derived his source from the issues of the present type with thick covered leaves[1] other than the one in the British Museum with leaves indicated by lines. As this coin was found in Kâthiâwaḍ it becomes easy to explain how the same type was borrowed by Nahapāna in whose territory was included Southern Gujrat before it was wrested away from him by Gautamiputra.[2]

SUSHIL K. BOSE.

VIṢṆU PURĪ, AUTHOR OF THE BHAKTIRATNĀVALĪ

At pp. 430-31, No. 4, Vol. IV, of the *Indian Culture,* Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, an indefatigable writer of the School of Śrī Madhva, observes as follows:—

'It is not, however, unlikely that a Bhakti movement was started in the North of India by Rājendra Tīrtha and his disciple Jayadhvaja

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[1] An additional weight is thrown in favour of such an assumption by the weight of this coin. The particular issue of Nahapāna, which we are referring to, weighs only 69·6 grs., whereas the British Museum specimen of Gautamiputra weighs more than 209 grs. The weight of our coin, in its original form, must have been at least 45 grs. so that from this point our coin is more akin to that of Nahapāna than the British Museum specimen.

[2] I am thankful to Mr. J. N. Banerji of the Calcutta University for going through the manuscript.

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during their sojourn there. We have it from Kavikarṇapura that the celebrated Viṣṇu Purī, author of the *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, was a disciple of Jayadhvaja. Most probably it was this Viṣṇu Purī who was the real father of the Bhakti movement in the North and the teachers Lakṣmīpati, Mādhavendra Purī, and Īśvara were descended from him and of these Īśvara Purī was probably contemporaneous with Vyāsatīrtha and presumably well-acquainted with him.'

The above statement must be characterized as a piece of unwarranted conjecture. The Gauraganoddeśadīpikā of Kavikarṇapūra mentions Viṣṇu Purī as a disciple of Jayadharma, a name which occurs in the list of teachers of the Caitanya Sect given in that work and also in the slightly different lists to be found in Baladeva's works. In my paper on 'Śrīcaitanyadeva and the Madhvācārya Sect', contributed to the Journal of the Assam Research Society for April, 1935, to which Sarma refers in his footnote 2, p. 430, I held that the list in Karṇapūra's work was a clear forgery, and I was inclined to trace the interpolation to the pro-Madhva leanings of Baladeva. Achyutacharan Chaudhuri's reply to my paper absolutely failed to refute a single argument advanced by me, and Mr. Sarma himself does not rely on the lists as his discussion at p. 430 clearly shows. He says there about Īśvara Purī that 'his title "Purī" is sufficient indication that he could not belong to the Madhva Order.' But he immediately misses the point when he quotes and follows Kavikarṇapūra about Viṣṇu Purī. How could Viṣṇu *Purī* be a disciple of Jayadhvaja who was a *Tīrtha* of the Madhvācārya Sect?

Apart from this, there is clear evidence that Viṣṇu Purī was a teacher of that branch of the Śaṁkara Sect of which Śrīdhara was the best known exponent. The 'Bhaktiratnāvalī' is an anthology of Bhakti verses culled from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, on which Viṣṇu Purī himself wrote a commentary, named the 'Kāntimālā'. The work with its commentary was immensely popular in Bengal. Every collection of MSS. in the Province possesses several copies of the work and a printed edition of the work was also published from Calcutta. In the 'Kāntimālā', Śrīdhara's commentary on the Bh.P. is substantially followed, and at its close Viṣṇu Purī apologizes for any inadvertent deviations from that work in the following terms:—

> 'Atra Śrīdhara-sattam-okti-likhane nyūn ādhikaṃ yat tv abhūt. Tat kṣantuṃ sudhio 'rhata svaracanā-lubdhasya me cāpalam'.

Nor can we be sure about the date of this Viṣṇu Purī. After the above verse, the following verses are found in the printed edition

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as well as in some of the manuscripts in the collection of the University edition of Dacca:—

'Vārāṇasyāṃ Maheśasya sānnidhye harimandire
Bhaktiratnāvalī siddhā sahitā Kāntimālayā
Mahāyajña-sara-prāṇa-śaśāṅka-gaṇite śake
Phālgune śuklapakṣasya dvitīyāyāṃ sumaṅgale.'

The date given here for the completion of the work with its Commentary is Śaka 1555 or 1633 A.C., exactly a century later than the demise of Srī Caitanyadeva. Rūpa Gosvamin, in his 'Padyāvalī' (*vide* Dr. S. K. De's Ed.), quotes two verses from one Viṣṇu Purī, which cannot be traced to the Bhaktiratnāvalī. But if these two Viṣṇu Purīs were identical, the date mentioned above would be untenable.

Jayānanda, in his 'Caitanyamaṅgala', mentions one Viṣṇu Purī as one of the eight disciples of Mādhavendra Purī (p. 34). At p. 88, again, he mentions one Viṣṇu Purī, along with several sannyāsins, bearing Śaṃkarite names, as present at Katwa at the time of Caitanyadeva's initiation into Sannyāsa. In the 'Caitanya-tattvapradīpa', an unpublished Bengali work in the Dacca University collection, bearing No. 1673, the writer, Brajamohan Das, mentions Mādhavendra Purī as the seed of the Caitanya Sect, and names one Viṣṇu Purī and some of the senior contemporaries of Caitanyadeva as the roots thereof. None of these Viṣṇu Purī's could have been a disciple of so earlier a teacher as Jayadhvaja. Mr. Sarma altogether overlooks the fact that the Bhakti preached by Śrī Madhva and the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Cult of the Bengal School are as poles asunder.

Mr. Sarma lays much stress on the anxiety of Rūpa Gosvāmin to reconcile his own views with those of Madhva. We need not be surprised at this if we remember that Jīva, the nephew and disciple of Rūpa, in his 'Tattvasandharbha', mentions Madhva, though erroneously, as a direct disciple of Śaṃkara. His words, 'sākṣāt tac-chiṣyatāṃ prāptair' before 'Madhvācāryacaraṇaiḥ', have been unskilfully omitted in the editions of the 'Tattvasandharbha' by Śyāmlal and Satyasundar Gosvāmins, though they occur in the more faithful Berhampore edition of Rāmanārāyaṇa and in all the manuscripts of the work I have come across.

A perusal of the 'Caitanyabhāgavata' by Vṛndāvanadāsa, the 'Caitanyacaritāmṛta' by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the *magnum opus* of the Bengal School, and the latter author's Sanskrit work, the 'Govindalīlāmṛtaṁ' will convince Mr. Sarma that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism originated in the midst of surroundings wholly uninfluenced by Madhvaism.

AMARNATH RAY.

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THE HARĀHĀ INSCRIPTION OF MAUKHARI MAHĀRĀJĀDHIRĀJA ĪŚĀNAVARMAN

From verse 13 of the Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman we learn that he occupied the throne after he had conquered the Andhras, the Śulikas, and the Gauḍas. The glorious campaign of his conquests having preceded his sitting on his father's throne, naturally 'Īśvaravarman must be taken as the first Maukhari king who paved the way to the Imperial Status (Mahārājādhirāja) afterwards enjoyed by his illustrious son Īśānavarman.'

From verse 16 of the inscription we learn that while Īśānavarman was ruling the earth, a son was born to him who was named Sūryavarman.

From verses 19 and 20 we learn that when Sūryavarman had attained puberty he once went a-hunting and noticed a dilapidated temple of Śiva which he reconstructed during the reign of his father Īśānavarman in (Vikrama) year 611. Thus it is clear that Sūryavarman was born sometime about Vikrama year (611–21, or) 590 and Īśānavarman's glorious conquests were won and he became a Mahārājādhirāja at the latest about Vikrama year 589.

From the Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena we learn that the Later Gupta King Kumāragupta, son of Jivitagupta I, fought with Maukhari Īśānavarman but at last Kumāragupta's son Dāmodaragupta died in the battle and it was probably owing to this grief that Kumāragupta immolated himself at Prayāga by 'entering into a fire kindled with cowdung cakes'.

From the above it is clear that the Later Gupta King Kumāragupta, son of Jivitagupta I, flourished before Vikrama year 589 which is assumed to be equivalent to A.D. 532 or G.E. 212, on Fleet's epoch when we know the Imperial Gupta Monarch Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya, was reigning. Again, in Mālava year which is assumed to be identical with Vikrama year 589 we know Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhaṇa who defeated the kings of Northern India was reigning, thus making Mahārājādhirāja Iśānavarman Maukhari as his contemporary (and perhaps overlord ?). This shows clearly that the Mālava and Vikrama years are not identical and the Imperial Gupta Monarch Kumāragupta and his father, Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya, flourished long before A.D. 530, and that Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is incorrect.

From the Aphsad inscription we also learn that the Later Gupta King Kṛṣṇagupta's son was Harṣagupta whose son was Jivitagupta I, father of Kumāragupta, and this latter fought with Maukhari Īśānavarman. We have already found this Kumāragupta

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ruling in about A.D. 532. Thus Kṛṣṇagupta was ruling about 100 years earlier in *c.* A.D. 432 which on Fleet's epoch is equivalent to G.E. 112 when we know the Imperial Gupta Monarch Kumāragupta I was ruling and it is wrong for Fleet's adherents to place Kṛṣṇagupta after the Imperial Gupta Monarch Kumāragupta III one of whose inscription is dated in (Gupta) Saṃvat 224. As the later Gupta kings followed the Imperial Gupta Monarchs, it follows clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by at least a hundred years.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEE.

ABOUT ANARAKALI

It is a strange phenomenon that with the passage of time, fabulous, fictitious tales creep round correct historical facts, distorting and disfiguring them beyond all recognition, so that, in a decade or two, these myths themselves come to be sublimated into, and later acknowledged, as facts. Exaggeration, for better or worse, is in the nature of man. But the aim of History is resurrection of fact, the differentiation of correct from incorrect accounts.

A good deal of fiction has been written about Anarakali. But when we apply the torch of scientific research, the real facts, suppressed intentionally or otherwise by our budding writers, emerge. Therefore, without any hesitation it will be accepted that no Mughal historical record so far has been discovered which would furnish us with any useful information regarding any princess or stewardess who would have been ever named—Anarakali, with the exception of one horrible and inconceiveable story which is related only by one English traveller—William Finch, about one lady named Anarakali being in the *Harem* of Akbar the Great. Finch had visited the Punjab in 1611 A.D. His words run thus:—[1]

> 'On the west side of the Castle is the Ferry to pass over to Cabul (and so to the Tartary or Cascar) a very great roadway and further side of the River is a goodly country. Infinite numbers of Gardens full of rarity exceeds 2 or 3 c. in length. Passing Sugar Gonge (Shakar Ganj) is a fair Meskite [2] built by Shecke

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[1] *Vide* 'Purchas His Pilgrimages', Vol. IV, pp. 47–60.

[2] The Mosque of Sheikh Freed mentioned by William Finch can easily be located on the spot called *Tibba Baba Freed* on the western side of the Lahore District Courts which was in reality a mosque built by Murtaza Khan Freed Bukhari Dehlvi. I hope it will not be confounded with Baba Freed, the saint lying buried at Pakpatan. This mosque now disappears from Lahore, only a small mount is remained, *vide* Islamic Culture of Hyderabad, Deccan, 1935, p. 618. (One of my own articles about Lahore Monuments.)

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Freed; beyond it (without the twone, in the way to the Gardens) a faire monument for Don Sha his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim had to do (her name was Immaque Kelle, or Pomogranate Kernell), upon notice of which the King caused he to be inclosed quick within a wall in his Mohall, where she dyed: and the King (Jahangir) in Token of his love, commands a sumptuous Tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a foure-square Garden richly walled with a Gate, and divers rooms over it: the convexity of the Tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workers of gold, with a large fair jounter with rooms over-head.'

The gist of Finch's dramatic episode is this that there was one lady named almost Anarakali in the *harem* of Akbar with whom Salim (Jahangir) the son of Akbar was also in love secretly, when Akbar came to know of the fact, he at once enclosed her alive in the wall of the palace by way of punishment. And later on when Salim became Emperor, he built her magnificent mausoleum which Finch had seen in the course of construction.

We can now see what happened with Finch's writing from Lahore in 1611 when Anarakali's story was fresh. De Laet has mentioned in his History a scandalous tale about Shahjahan and his daughter Jahanara which is also repeated by Peter Munday in 1632 about 22 years after Finch's version:—

'This Showe Jehan amonge the rest hath one Chimny Beagum a verie beautifull creature by report, with whom (it was openly bruited and talked of in Agra) he committed incest, being very familiar with him many times in boyes apparell in great favours, and as great means allowed her.' [1]

It will also astonish to know that Peter Munday has mentioned a similar tale about Nurmahal:—

'The King (Jahangir) insensed against him (Prince Khurram afterwards Shahjahan) on some occasions (and as they say, for havings too secrette familiaritie with Noormohall), he fledd and stood out in Rebellion to day of the king's death.' [2]

Sir Richard writes:—[3] 'the story had been embellished until it became truly scandalous and attributed to a lady of still greater in the next generation closely connected with Lahore. It is quite possible that the scandle told of Shah Jahan and his daughters

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[1] De Laet's book published at Leyden in 1631 on India and later published by Lethbridge in 1871.

[2] Peter Munday, Vol. II, p. 203, Haklyute Soc., 1914.

[3] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLIV, pp. 111-112.

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usually of Jahanara, the most famous but also Chimny [1] Begum, is a mere passing one of a well-known tale to a third generation. Also the same story was referred to the days of Raja Ranjit Singh, which is ordinarily told, was to the effect during a procession, she was seen to smile at a man in the crowd. This was reported to the Great Sikh ruler, who had immuned her alive then and there. A search for the male culprit revealed him as his brother, whereon Ranjit Singh in great remorse built the magnificent tomb to her memory which is the pro-Cathedral at Lahore. And this is in spite of the tomb being obviously Mohammadan and three centuries old.'

The Lahore Gazetteer's version of the story of Anarakali identifying her with Nadira Begam and the vague title Sherf-un-Nissa [2] seems to drag in yet another unfortunate lady of the time closely connected with Lahore. Nadira was the wife of Dara Shikoh, who was the daughter of Sultan Parvez, a son of Jahangir. Of course, History records it that Dara had a desire to bury his wife at Lahore by the tomb of Mian Mir Sahib near Lahore, so when she gave her last breath while he was hurrying towards Lahore in the course of the struggle for the throne, therefore one can easily infer that she must have had been buried there at Mian Mir Sahib. Her tomb cannot be in any case identified with that of the so-called tomb of Anarakali as the facts are in our favour.

Sakinatul-Auliya, one of the many compilations of prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, a clever writer on mysticism, bears a special chapter on the public haunts of Lahore of Shah Jahan's days where, usually, his spiritual leader Shah Mian Mir Sahib, lying buried at Lahore, used to go in the company of his disciples. It is really a very useful work as far as our interest in Lahore antiquities is concerned. It takes note of many important places, many of which to-day are not traceable. *Sakinatul Auliya* was written in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.) twenty-eight years after the construction of the so-called tomb of Anarakali or forty-four years after the death of the lady entombed therein according to the dates inscribed on the sarcophagus, therefore, to expect its mention here is possible, however, one most important and interesting thing occurs therein, it is the mention of the 'Anarakali Garden' on the southern side of the city with a dome in the corner of its southern wall. Unfortunately it does not furnish us with any reference appertaining

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[1] Sir R. Temple regards Chimny Begum and Jahan Ara both one and the same but the former's name does not appear in Mughal records.

[2] Sherfūn-Nissa was the daughter of Lahore Governor during the 19th century and her tomb with coloured tile work is on the Shalamar Road inside the Gulabi Bagh.

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to the person buried beneath the dome in the precincts of the Anarakali Gardens. At least, it can safely be said that so far it is the first mention of the word Anarakali in the Mughals annals applied to a garden, so it is just possible that the garden might have been noted for its production of pomegranates of a fine quality. Because Finch has himself mentioned particularly that this side of the city was full of infinite number of gardens full of rarity. Dara Shikoh could easily have mentioned the fact if it was the tomb of Anarakali concerning whom such a thrilling and horrible drama is related only by Finch and not so far corroborated by any other evidence. It is conceivable that in the latter period the garden fell into a general desolation and only the tomb left which was afterwards named Anarakali instead of the garden or locality, because for credence it is also necessary that the contemporary writers would mention this dreadful event.

After this, then, the question arises, who was the lady buried therein, in whose love Salim (Jahangir) son of Akbar uttered the couplet, which is being inscribed too on the sarcophagus:—

Ah! could I behold the face of my beloved once more.
I would give thanks unto Almighty God unto resurrection.

It has already been pointed out in the light of history that it is the tomb of Sahib-i-Jamal, one of the wives of Jahangir, died in the same year at Lahore. She was the mother of Parvez son of Jahangir and daughter of Zain Khan Koka. She was married to Jahangir in 995 A.H. (1586 A.D.), against Akbar's will.[1]

We should also remember that Jahangir was forty-one years old in 1599, the year of the death of the buried lady, undeniably an age of seriousness. Moreover, the History cannot conceal the facts as Mr. Beveridge has already pointed out by saying that either the story of Anarakali told by Finch is untrue or the dates being inscribed on the sarcophagus are untrue, because Salim from 1007 A.H. to 1011 A.H. was away from Lahore as well as his father Akbar had left Lahore on the 26th Aban 1007 A.H. (6th Nov., 1598 A.D.) a good deal before the actual date of occurrence, i.e. 1008 A.H. = 1598.[2]

During 1854 a foreign lady came to India who was a very clever landscape painter, she prepared a volume of landscapes under the name of 'Oriental Sketches in the Punjab by a Lady', one of them was a very nice landscape which, she had named 'Anarakallie from

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[1] Mr. Beal has given the biographical notice of Sahib-i-Jamal as the wife of Jahangir, in his Dictionary of Oriental Biography and Nairangi-i-Khyal Annual, 1928, Mr. Salik's article.

[2] English Trans. of Akbar Nama, p. 1155.

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the Mooltan Road', with a description in her own words:—

> 'The village of Anarakallie was a suberb of Lahore and at one time occupied by the British Troops as a Cantonment, but abandoned for this purpose from its unhealthiness. . . . In the distance is the tomb of Anarakallie who was a lady of the *Harem* of Shahjahan, her name the "The Flower of Pomegranate". Having incurred the Shah's displeasure, he ordered her to be buried alive and her tomb is now used as a church.' [1]

The foreground of the landscape bears a vast area of water which conforms to the words of Dara Shikoh that there was a tank due south, also even at that time this part of the city was called as Anarakali. It looks also funny to mention in this connection that there are other tombs in the Punjab which are called the tombs of Anarakali, with whom the same scandalous story is related such as at Batala in the Gurdaspore District.

From all the above-noted conflicting accounts of the early European writers about Anarakali, etc. I am sure, every one will automatically conclude that there was no existence of any lady ever named Anarakali and the place where the tomb stands was a part of the city named Anarakali after the name of a Garden as mentioned by Prince Dara Shikoh.

At the end we should also add that if we put ourselves to prepare a list of such scandals being recorded by many travellers and so-called historians from the beginning to this day, I am sure a big article can easily be prepared of a great historical value and on the other hand it will also help us in understanding the real historical insight of those, therefore all these considerations seem to point to be extremely cautious in accepting such baseless scandals about the great ones of Indian History.

M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI.

A NOTE ON '*AṢṬAKUL=ĀDHIKARAṆA*'

Two old epigraphical records of Bengal, viz. the Dhanâidaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumâra-Gupta I, and one (No. 3, of the time of Budha-Gupta) of the Dâmôdarpur copper-plate inscriptions, are found to contain the unfamiliar expression '*aṣṭakul=âdhikaraṇa*' in connection with transactions of land sale.

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[1] A similar tale has been related about Anarakali by Mr. Beal in his Dictionary of Oriental Biography.

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The former has it that a certain person approached the householders, the *Mahattaras* and the *aṣṭakul=âdhikaraṇa* of the village and expressed his desire to purchase some land,[1] while according to the latter, the *mahattaras*, the *aṣṭakul=âdhikaraṇa*, the *grāmikas* and the *kuṭumbis* (householders), being in confidence (*sa-viśvâsaṁ*) inform, from a certain village, the chief Brâhmaṇas, the prominent subjects and the householders in another village, of some land sale.[2] Whatever the expressions *mahattara*, *grâmika* and *aṣṭakul=âdhikaraṇa* might precisely denote, it is quite obvious that they were somehow or other connected with the internal administration of the village, though not actual royal functionaries. A *grāmika* was, according to *Manu* (VII, vv. 116, 118), the head of the village, 'who had the right to enjoy several privileges, e.g. to use for himself the king's dues received from the villagers. He had also the right to refer cases of criminal offences to the head of ten villages'.[3] *Mahattaras* were no doubt 'leading men of the village',[4] but they must have been (by virtue of their knowledge in Law, *vyâvahâra*) entrusted with some functions relating to the administration,—or there was no point in approaching them on the part of a private person for the purpose of purchasing some land even in another village.

The late Prof. R. D. Banerji explained the term *aṣṭakul=âdhikaraṇa* as 'a local officer (Kulâdhikaraṇa who exercised authority over eight villages'.[5] Dr. Radhagovinda Basak, however, rejects the explanation and suggests that 'He (i.e. *aṣṭakul=âdhikaraṇa*) was rather an officer in the village having supervising authority over eight *kulas*'.[6] On the authority of Kulluka Bhaṭṭa's commentary on *Manu*, VII, 119, he further adds that, 'this word *kula* perhaps means inhabited country as much ground as can be ploughed by two ploughs, each drawn by six bulls'.

But there is no conceivable reason why after all, in the gradation of presumably various officers of this character, an officer having supervising authority only over eight *kulas* should be selected to be particularly referred to in these inscriptions. Further, the term *adhikaraṇa* does not imply 'an officer', but 'a court of justice'. It may be noted in this connection that in the Gugrâhâṭi copper-plate inscription of Samâcâra-dêva, for instance, we have the expression

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, Vol. V, 1909, p. 461; *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 347; *Sâhitya*, 1323 B.S., Pauṣa, p. 590.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 136.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 137, footnote 3.
[4] *Ibid.*, footnote 1 and *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 133.
[5] *J.A.S.B*, 1909, p. 460.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 137, footnote 2; *ibid.*, XVII, p. 348, footnote 3; *Sâhitya*, 1323 B.S., p. 595.

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'*jyêṣṭhâdhikaraṇika-Dâmuka-pramukham=adhikaraṇaṁ*', i.e. the *adhikaraṇa* (judicial court) represented by the chief judge, Dâmuka, and others.[1] This phrase is evidently more or less analogous to the phrase '*aṣṭakul-âdhikaraṇa*' (i.e. the *adhikaraṇa* of *aṣṭakula*) in the Dhanâidaha and Dâmôdarpur grants.

There occurs in Pâli the significant phrase *Aṭṭhakulaka*. A passage from the *Aṭṭhakathâ* of Buddhaghosa shows that the Vajjian rulers, on a person being brought and presented to them, surrender him to the *Vinicchiya-mahâmattâ* (chief judicial officers) without at once deciding that he is a malefactor. If they decide, 'this is a malefactor' without awarding any penalty they transfer him to the *Vôhārika* (Skt. *Vyâvahārika*, learned in the customs or laws). The person convicted is then either discharged or transferred successively to a certain class of officers called *Suttadharâ*, to *Aṭṭhakulaka* (or °*Kâ*) Sênâpati, Uparâja and lastly to the Râja, for trial.[2] Literally the word *Aṭṭakula* means 'the eight castes or tribes'. As Cunningham aptly remarks, 'The Vajjis were divided into several clans such as the Licchavis, the Vaidehis, the Tîrabhuktis and so on and the exact number of those clans would appear to have been eight as criminals were arranged before the Aṭṭhakûlakâ or eight clans which would appear to have been a jury composed of one member from each of the separate divisions of the tribe'.[3] *Aṭṭhakulaka* is thus inferred to be 'a judicial institution' composed of judges from 'eight kulas or tribes'.[4] Of course, the question of 'eight tribes' is not applicable to every other case, but the practice of the ancient Vajjis was probably responsible for that a judicial institution composed of (more or less) eight judges came later on to be, in general, known as *aṭṭhakulaka*. The expression *aṣṭakul=âdhikaraṇa*, as in the two inscriptions under notice, would thus mean the *adhikaraṇa* or judicial court in the village composed of (more or less) eight judges. And it is only in the fitness of things that a person desirous of purchasing some land should approach such an institution dealing with law and justice.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 76, 78.
[2] *Vide J.A.S.B.*, 1838, Vol. VII, p. 993.
[3] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 447.
[4] George Turnour, *J.A.S.B.*, 1838, p. 993, footnote; Dr. B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Cal., 1924, pp. 53 and 103.

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COOMARASWAMY AND THE MAURYA PALACE

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy writes in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927), p. 19, 'Aśoka's palace at Pāṭaliputra (modern Bankipore, near Patna) was described by Megasthenes as no less magnificent than the palaces of Susa and Ecbatana; it was still standing at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., when Fa Hsien tells us that it was attributed to the work of genii'.

The passage quoted however contains two serious mistakes which ought to be removed from a future edition of the work. Firstly, Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador whom Seleucus sent to the court of Candragupta Maurya, had nothing to do with Candragupta's grandson Aśoka and his palaces. Secondly, the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra described by Megasthenes and that noticed by Fa Hien are undoubtedly different. Megasthenes described Candragupta's palace which, though (chiefly?) constructed of timber, was considered to excel in splendour and magnificence the palaces of the great Achaimenian emperors of Persia, its golden pillars being adorned with golden vines and silver birds. It is impossible that the wooden structure was seen by Fa Hien after more than seven hundred years. As a matter of fact however Fa Hien was impressed by the sight of Aśoka's palace (not Candragupta's) which was at that time still in existence and was so well constructed of stone that the structure appeared to be beyond the skill of men and was believed to have been executed by spirits in the emperor's service.

The book contains other historical errors of a similar nature, *a few* of which are noted below:—

(1) The Besnagar Garuḍa pillar is said to have been erected by Heliodorus 'in ca. 140 B.C.' (p. 34). There cannot be any doubt that the date is later by about quarter of a century. Elsewhere the author himself gives the date as 'about 126 B.C.' (p. 49).

(2) Reference is made to 'the satrap Rañjuvula or Rājūla, the last Yavana king of Eastern Panjab' (p. 37). Rañjuvula was not a *Yavana* but a *Śaka*; he was not the *last* but the *first* of a Satrapal family of the Mathurā region.

(3) Reference is made to the 'Āndhra king Caṣṭana, who reigned ca. 80–110 A.D.' (p. 66). No Andhra (Śātavāhana) king is known to have had the name Caṣṭana. A Śaka satrap named Caṣṭana is known from the Andau inscriptions to have ruled in A.D. 130 jointly with his grandson Rudradāman. He is evidently the same as Tiastênes, ruler of Ozênê mentioned as a contemporary by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (about middle of the 2nd century).

(4) Details of Gupta history are in most part not strictly accurate; the most inaccurate statement is however that the Gupta

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empire broke up 'in the time of Skandagupta, about 480' (p. 71). Evidence of coins and inscriptions shows that Skandagupta's reign ended in 467 A.D. The Gupta empire finally broke up in or after the time of Budhagupta (coins dated 495-96 A.D.) who is known to have ruled over Central India, Benares area and North Bengal.

(5) The Vākāṭaka kings are said to have ruled 'the Telugu country almost to the mouth of the Godāverī' (p. 76f.). There is no proof in support of this statement. The last known king of the Vākāṭaka family (Hariṣeṇa) claims to have conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kośala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Āndhra. This vague claim of the last known king evidently goes against the suggestion.

(6) Reference is made to a 'scene of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* dating from the close of the Gupta period' (p. 87). According to the author, 'Gupta Period 320–600 A.D.' But Bhavabhūti is known to have lived in the middle of the eighth century and to have been a contemporary of Yaśovarman of Kanauj and Lalitāditya of Kashmir.

(7) Pulakesin II is said to have conquered 'the old Āndhra and now Pallava country of Veṅgī' in A.D. 611 (p. 94f.). The date is wrong or at least very doubtful. Veṅgī was certainly not a Pallava country in the beginning of the seventh century.

(8) Reference is made (p. 99) to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king 'Kṛṣṇa II (ca. 757–783)'. The king intended is no doubt Kṛṣṇa I whose known dates are A.D. 768 and 772. Kṛṣṇa II reigned in 877–913, about a century later.

(9) The Pallavas are said to have ruled in Veṅgī in the second century; Pallava 'Siṃhaviṣṇu (575–600) lost Veṅgī to the Cāḷukyas after which the Pallavas extended southward to Tanjore, with their capital at Kāñcīpuram'; 'originally Buddhists', they became Śaivas by the end of the sixth century; Siṃhavarman Pallava dedicated a Buddhist image at Amarāvatī in 437 (p. 102). This is all wrong. (*a*) Correctly speaking, at the time of the earliest known Pallava king Śivaskandavarman and his father, whose capital was Kāñcī, Andhrāpatha with its headquarters at Dhānyakaṭa formed the northernmost province of the Pallava kingdom. (*b*) Cāḷukya occupation of Veṅgī took place long after 600 A.D. (*c*) At the time of Cāḷukya occupation, Veṅgī was in the possession of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and not of the Pallavas. (*d*) No early Pallava king is known to have been a Buddhist. Śivaskandavarman was a performer of Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and Agniṣṭoma sacrifices. His successors (Early Pallavas) were Vaiṣṇavas. But the seals attached to the charters of these early kings show that the family was originally Śaiva and not Buddhist. (*e*) The date of the Amarāvatī Buddhist pillar inscription of Pallava Siṃhavarman is not 437 but 'about A.D. 1100'

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(*Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 44). (*f*) Kāñcī was the capital of the earliest known king of the family.

(10) Reference is made to 'Kīrtivarman the greatest of the Candela rājās' (p. 110). The statement is hardly justifiable.

(11) As regards Geography, the author may be advised to consult new books and atlases. The map at p. 256 should be redrawn from a new model. Instances like that of the inclusion of Banda and Bhāgalpur Districts in Bengal are numerous in the book published in 1927. Dināǰpur and Rājshāhi can hardly be described as places in Magadha (p. 114).

(12) Reference is made to 'Siddha Rāja (1093–1143), one of the kings of Anhillavāḍa-Pāṭan, and connected by marriage with the Cāḷukyas' (p. 111). The king intended is no doubt Jayasiṃha-Siddharāja who was *himself* a Cāḷukya or Caulukya.

There are more than hundred misprints in the body of the book. We hope that the inaccuracies and misprints should be removed in a future edition of the book.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE GUPTA ERA

Mr. Dhirendranath Mookerji, writing on the date of Ācārya Vasubandhu, maintains that the Gupta Era is identical with the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. and that Fleet's epoch is in error by 377 years. I shall try to prove from the Chronology of the Kāmarūpa Kings that this is impossible.

The Gupta Era is mentioned in the rock inscription of Harjjaravarman at Tezpur. The inscription purports to be a royal order regulating the plying of boats in the Brahmaputra, within certain boundaries stated, and hence it was inscribed on a huge rock abutting on the river. At the end of the inscription is the date 'Gupta 510'. Now according to Mr. Mookerji this date would correspond to 452 A.D. or, in other words, Harjjaravarman ruled towards the middle of the fifth century A.D. We find, however, from the Chronology of the Kāmarūpa Kings that almost immediately after the death of Bhāskaravarman, Śālastambha usurped the throne of Kāmarūpa and Harjjaravarman was at least ninth in descent from Śālastambha. Bhāskaravarman was a contemporary of Harṣavardhana and Yuan Chwang and he died about 650 A.D. How can, therefore, Harjjaravarman be ruling about 452 A.D.?

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According to Fleet's Chronology 510 G.E. will be equivalent to 829 A.D. and thus the interval between Bhāskaravarman and Harjjaravarman would come to 179 years which is quite probable as this would give a reign of approximately 19 years, on an average, to each intervening king.

K. L. BARUA.

ON THE TALAGUNDA INSCRIPTION

In Vol. IV, p. 355 of this *Journal*, Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar has observed as follows, in his note entitled 'The Talagunda Inscription':—

'The first 24 verses were however composed in a metre rarely found elsewhere. Kielhorn has fully described this metre in Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 26ff.; he is inclined to call it a species of *Mātrāsamaka*. The verse *ari-narendra*, etc., quoted by me at p. 242 seems also to be composed in this peculiar metre, but we have got to read *Kiraṇa-līdha* in place of *Kiraṇ-āvalīḍha*.'

This view is erroneous. Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah has shown in his paper entitled 'Some Rare Metres in Sanskrit' (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. IX, pp. 46ff.) that the metre employed in these verses (and also in many verses of Bhatta Bhima's Rāvaṇārjunīya) is not a *mātrāsamaka* but belongs to a new class which he calls *miśragaṇa* metres. In another paper published in the same Journal (p. 183), he has further definitely shown that this *miśragaṇa* metre is the *Gītikā*, each half of which has seven gaṇas, the sixth of which is a Brahma-Gaṇa, the remaining being any of the Brahma, Viṣṇu or Rudra gaṇas. The verse *arinarendra* . . . . . has been shown by him (p. 48f.) to be a *Gītikā* and there is not thus the least necessity of making any emendation in it.

S. RANGACHAR.

A NOTE ON ŚAKAYAVANAM

In *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 189ff., Dr. Sten Konow criticizes Professor Bhandarkar's inferences from the compound *Śakayavanam*, above (1, pp. 275ff.), and the discussion is resumed by him in a

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thought-provoking paper published in the same journal, III, pp. 1ff. But some of the arguments advanced by Professor Konow give rise to serious doubts. In the present note I propose to discuss his views, so far as they find place in the latter issue of the journal, and thus to lend an humble support to the thesis of Professor Bhandarkar. To make a contribution to the problem raised by these eminent scholars is to enter into a detailed study of Numismatics, so essential for the reconstruction of the Śaka-Yavana period of Indian history. But since here we are exclusively concerned with the remarks of Dr. Konow, I have reserved this topic for a separate paper.

Professor Bhandarkar deduces from the instance of the dvandva that the Śakas, like the Yavanas, had already established their power in the north-west of India in the age of Patañjali, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C., and like the Bactrian Greeks they had then succeeded in carving out a tiny kingdom for themselves in the same locality.

Criticizing this view, Sten Konow remarks that Patañjali refers to Śakas, not as established in India, but 'only known as a foreign tribe, in some way connected with the Yavanas.' In support of this thesis, he refers to Pāṇini's preceding rule, *Yeṣāṁ ca virodhaḥ śāśvatikaḥ*, and tells us that Patañjali's reference to Śakas and Yavanas was probably to a certain extent influenced by this rule. He goes so far as to deduce from this argument that there was between the Śakas and the Yavanas actually a *śāśvatika virodha*, which view seems to form, as it were, the main support of his thesis.

We might agree with Dr. Konow when he says that Patañjali was quite conscious of the fact that this rule was equally valid in the case of people too, and not only in that of animals; since we find *śramaṇabrāhmaṇam* as an example of the same. But here it may be reasonably asked: Even if we take the Śakas and Yavanas as being on hostile terms in that age, shall we be on certain grounds in considering the struggle as of a permanent nature? It was not of course like the one existing between the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmanas. For here we are not to forget the use of the term *śāśvatika*, the force of which can be fully understood when we consider other instances cited under the same rule, viz. *ahinakulam*, *govyāghram* and *kākolūkīyam*. The struggle between the Śakas and the Yavanas, even though it be taken as extending over a pretty long time, is not at all analogous to that existing between the animals enumerated in these instances, and consequently Dr. Konow's assumption, that Patañjali seems to have been influenced by the preceding rule of Pāṇini, does not seem to be based on firm grounds. Hence it is that the author of the *Bālamanoramā*, a well-known commentary on the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, makes the following statement:—

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'Virodho vairam, na/tu sahāvasthitiḥ/ Tena ca chāyātapāvityatra na bhavati/ Devāsurāḥ ityatra tu nāyamekavadbhāvaḥ; tadvirodhasya kādācitkatvāt/ Amṛitādiprayuktaḥ khalu kādācitka eva hi teṣāṁ virodhaḥ/Amṛitamathanakāle teṣāṁ virodhābhāvāt/' (Com. under Pāṇini, II, 4, 9, 1910 edn., pp. 597-8).

Patañjali's discussion over the term *a-niravasita* in Pāṇini II, 4, 10, shows the Śakas as interdining with the Indians in the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*; and how could this be possible, in case the Śakas are taken to have been situated outside India? In this connection Dr. Konow argues by saying that individual Śakas might have come to India before the Śaka invasion. But this view cannot be fully justified unless we have definite reasons to prove that such had been really the case. Here the balance of evidence appears to be on the other side. Professor Bhandarkar refers to Rapson's views in respect to the advent of the Śakas in India as by an indirect route, that is, through Ariana, Drangiana, and Arachosia; and this migration is said to have been due to the 'general condition of unrest' caused by the turbulent Huns 'among the tribes inhabiting the northern fringe of the desert of Chinese Turkestan' (above, II, p. 280).[1] In view of this fact there appears less probability to maintain with Dr. Konow that some Śakas are likely to have come to India before the Śaka invasion, which assumption he holds very probably to justify his thesis regarding Patañjali's reference to them as *śūdra a-niravasita* as a consequence of their being regarded so by the Indians. Those perilous times obviously seem to be less inclined to permit such a movement through a country full of natural barriers. Considering the fullest implication of the expression *śāśvatika virodha* in the manner in which Dr. Konow takes it, we have to accept that the Greeks alone, their natural enemies, would have impeded such a movement of the individual Śakas.

Even if individual Śaka tribes be taken as coming to India before the well-known Śaka invasion, as Dr. Konow has ingeniously assumed, we have to face another difficulty; for how can, in that case, Patañjali's reference to Śakas be to those coming to India, and at the same time to those in Bactria who were engaged, in the opinion of Dr. Konow, in a struggle with the Yavanas there? It may be noted that such individual Śakas cannot definitely be considered to have been on very intimate terms with the Indians before the well-known Śaka invasion, and as suggested by Professor Poussin, it is difficult to admit that the members of a tribe only known by name

[1] This view receives a strong support from the fact that the region of Chakansur, just to the west of the Bolan Pass, has been reclaimed as one of the important centres of the ancient Śakasthāna (see Geog. Journal, 1934, p. 356).

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should have been looked upon as *śūdra a-niravasita*, 'not expelled from the dish' (above, II, p. 584). We cannot therefore help believing with Professor Bhandarkar that the Śakas had already settled in India before their mention is made in the compound *Śakayavanam*, that is, in the age of Patañjali.

Thus Dr. Konow's considerations remain open to serious objections. There is one thing more. While advancing his arguments against the thesis of Dr. Bhandarkar, he agrees with those who take the Yavanas as established in India long before the time of the *Mahābhāṣya*; he is as well inclined to hold that their number must have been increased in this country as a consequence of the pressure exercised on their Bactrian dominion by the Śakas and other Scythian tribes. Similarly he observes that the Śakas were largely instrumental in making an end to the Greek dominion, not only in Bactria, but in India too. This implies that in India too a contest between the Śakas and the Yavanas was raging. Under such circumstances, Patañjali's reference to the Yavanas appears to be more probably to those who had then established themselves in India, rather than to the Bactrian Chiefs.

Dr. Konow seeks to establish his aforesaid thesis by giving reference to Indian colonists and traders finding their way to distant foreign lands, and by maintaining that 'with such trade information must follow'. In accordance with this view, he assumes that some Indians must have come into contact with the Śakas, who were at contest with the Yavanas; and this is the source of information of the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* while writing the dvandva under reference. But this argument does not seem to be free from objections. There cannot be any doubt that the ancient Indians maintained trade relations with the people of many other countries; but we cannot agree with Konow unless we can have any definite evidence about the existence of any kind of trade with this particular part of the country in those days. On the contrary, it might be reasonably argued that the land around Bactria, the stage of the then Śaka-Yavana contest according to Dr. Konow, does not seem to have been capable of allowing such trade relations to be established because of the general condition of unrest prevailing all through the tract as we have already noted. Journey through such a tract seems to be less safe; and, under such circumstances, it could not be possible for the Indians to receive first-hand information about the struggle, if at all raging there. Such an information, if coming to India in an indirect way, is likely to have been far from definite. This is the reason why we are not able to ascertain, even at this stage, the definite signification of the term Yavana as it appears in the inscriptions of Aśoka and elsewhere; it seems to have been a comprehensive

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term of the age for traditionally denoting all the peoples bordering the west.[1]

The foregoing discussion will also bear out the fact that the ancient Indians possessed little information in respect to the relations existing between the tribes who were then bordering the north-west of India, even in relation to those who made invasions in this country, strange enough though it may appear. It was long after the settlement of these people on the Indian soil, that the latter seem to have cared about knowing details regarding them. A still closer intimacy seems to be essential in giving the members of such a tribe a status which could enable them to take food from the dish of a twice-born person (and specially the Brahmins who in that age possessed the privilege of enjoying the highest rank in the society), 'without making it permanently unclean and consequently worthy of being thrown away', as Professor Bhandarkar has rightly remarked.

Taking into account the compound words cited as instances by Patañjali in his gloss on Pāṇini II, 4, 10, it is not difficult to find that in all cases, at present provisionally omitting the case of the dvandva under consideration, the people denoted by such words had something common among them; more so it is in the case of tribes denoted by the constituents of each pair. In this connection we are to note that all the Śūdra classes mentioned here are known to Patañjali as not excluded (*a-niravasita*) from the Aryan fold (*Arya-nivāsa*); this may be said to have been equally applicable in the case of the Śakas and the Yavanas. Moreover, the grouping together of these two words shows that there must have been a Śaka settlement more or less in the same part as occupied by the Yavanas in Patañjali's time, if not prior to it. This position might be held on the analogy cited by Dr. Konow to indicate that the Śakas were closely connected with the Kāmbojas as the two tribes are frequently mentioned together. That the Śaka settlement must not have been very far is borne out by the fact that Patañjali uses the form Śaka instead of the indigenous Saka, as noted by Dr. Konow himself to show that they were settled at some distance; but which might rather more appropriately be directed to point out that this word must have been Sanskritized as a consequence of the tribe being denoted by it being Aryanised as a result of their being closely associated with the Indians.

All these arguments being considered, it does not seem possible to endorse the objections raised by Dr. Konow; and Professor Bhandarkar's thesis, that the Śakas were ruling in the north-west of

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[1] Cf., for instance, *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, LVII, 8; also see O. Stein's remarks in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, 3, p. 343.

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India in the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C., remains unaffected. Of course they could not penetrate the country so far as the Yavanas could do in that period; nevertheless they were enjoying the same status in the eyes of the Indian people. Here it might be indicated that there cannot be any doubt regarding the generally accepted date of Patañjali, which has been so elaborately, and ably enough, discussed by Dr. Konow in his learned article above (III, 1, pp. 1ff.).

HARIHAR V. TRIVEDI.

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REVIEWS

GAUTAMA BUDDHA by Iqbal Singh, Boriswood, London, pp. 1–376. Printed in Great Britain, Illustrated, 15*s*. net.

The book consists of five parts and the contents are as follows: Pt. I—The world of the Buddha. Pt. II—(1) Māyā's dream and the nativity of the Buddha, (2) the republic of Kapilavastu, (3) some early events, (4) the pursuit of pleasure, (5) the crisis and renunciation, (6) after strange gods, (7) enlightenment, (8) turning the wheel of Doctrine, (9) growth of the Order, (10) years of wandering and a day, (11) fools in the Order, (12) the great decease, and (13) posthumous postscript. Pt. III—The word of the Buddha. Under this head the author has dealt with the wheel, the way and the void. Pt. IV—The word made flesh. Pt. V.—The Buddha in a changing world. Then come Epilogue, Acknowledgements, Bibliography and Index. The author has supplied us with a few illustrations, viz., head of Buddha, Bodhisattva of the blue lotus, wood nymph, Buddha in shrine, death of Buddha, landscape and listening to music. The last two illustrations are comparatively modern. The book is popularly written and does not evince any spirit of research. The author has himself admitted that this book was never intended to be a scholarly work. The section dealing with the republic of Kapilavastu is a resumé of what Rhys Davids has said in his Buddhist India (chaps. 2–4). It is not correct to say that the legend of Māra is to be found both in Pali and Sanskrit sources. It is found in other sources as well, e.g., Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, Siamese and Burmese. The author in his Biographical section ought to have made use of the Jina-carita, a well-known Pali poem, dealing with the life of the Buddha. We regret to find that the book under review is mainly based on English translations and not on the original texts. Some inaccuracies have been noticed by us, e.g., Moat-Hall (p. 75) should be Mote-Hall (saṅthāgāra); Brahmajāla-sutta or the Discourse of the Net of Brahma (p. 150) should be interpreted as the Discourse on the Excellent Net (of Knowledge); Sir Charles Eliot's Hinduism and Buddhism is the correct title of the book and not Hinduism and Buddha (p. 359); Paticcasamupada (p. 282) and Paticcasamupadda (p. 362) should be Paṭiccasamuppāda. There is a misprint in p. 86. In spite of all these minor inaccuracies, the book is readable and the only attractive feature of it is the style in which it is written. The book is deficient in diacritical marks and an exhaustive and up-to-date Bibliography.

B. C. Law.

THE MAN IN THE WELL AND SOME OTHER SUBJECTS ILLUSTRATED AT NĀGĀRJUNIKONDA by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. Extrait de la Revue des Arts Asiatiques. Tome XI, Fascicule 3, Paris, 1937.

The excavations conducted by Mr. A. H. Longhurst at the ancient site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa reveal a large number of sculptures dealing with many subjects not hitherto treated in the Buddhist art of India. Dr. Vogel has attempted in this little treatise to interpret some of Mr. Longhurst's finds, viz.: (*a*) man in the well, (*b*) conversion of Nanda (*vide* Saundarānanda-Kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa), and (*c*) Kinnarī Jātaka (*vide* Mahāvastu, Vol. II). The interpretations are interesting and instructive. The plates are four in number and they have been well executed. We wish that Dr. Vogel should continue to throw light on many more Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculptures, and thereby should do a real service to the study of ancient History and Archæology.

B. C. Law.

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STUDIES IN CHINESE ART AND SOME INDIAN INFLUENCES, with a foreword by Sir William Llewellyn, P.R.A.; published by the India Society, Victoria Street, London, 1938; viii+64 pages and 106 illustrations; price 21 shillings net.

The book under review contains four chapters which were originally lectures delivered during the Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Royal Academy, London, in 1935-36. The authors are experts of high distinction, and the India Society is to be warmly congratulated for this valuable publication by all lovers of Oriental art.

Chapter I. *Buddhist Art in Central Asia: Indian, Īrānian and Chinese Influence (from Bāmiyān to Turfān)*, by J. Hackin, Director of the Musée Guimet in Paris; pp. 1–14; figs. 8.

The subject of this chapter is the Buddhist art in Central Asia with reference to the stages in the progress of Buddhism towards the east, which enables us to note the changes in the phases of an 'art in motion'. The author deals with the influence of the classical Sāsānian art and the art of the Hellenistic East on the sculpture especially of Bāmiyān, an important halting place, midway between Bactria and Puruṣapura, upon the high road that linked India with Central Asia. Bāmiyān, the great centre of the Īrāno-Buddhist art for a number of centuries, was regarded as a model and guide by the craftsmen of Kashgaria. In the author's opinion, the art of Kāshmīr, affected by degenerate Īrānian influences, inspired the craftsmen of the Yotkān (Khotan) area. The author also notices how the Īrāno-Buddhist art in its eastward advance had to encounter Chinese art and how the Īrānian elements gradually disappeared, 'the masterful enterprise of China permitting the retention of iconographic details of secondary importance only which will be seen to persist, mechanically repeated, in the Buddhist art of Japan'.

Chapter II. *Indian and Other influences in Chinese Sculpture*, by Osvald Sirén, National Museum, Stockholm; pp. 15–36; figs. 50.

This chapter deals with the influence of art of India and Western Asia on the sculpture of China. Chinese sculptures representing Buddhist motifs are no doubt of Indian origin; but the early models, before they reached China, had to pass through intermediary regions where they were modified according to local traditions. Intercommunication between China and India, however, gradually developed, and the Central Asian types did no longer serve as models, but actually Indian works, mainly of the Mathurā school of the 5th and early 6th centuries A.D. The author notices unmistakable Indian influence on the artists of T'ien-lung Shan and also the facts that in some figures (figs. 37 & 38) the modelling of the mascular or fleshy part of the body is accentuated in an Indian fashion and that the abundant string-like fold creases are rendered in the Gupta fashion. According to the author, certain reliefs of Nan-hsiang T'ang resemble in features of style and composition with some Buddhist sculptures of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in South India. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an inscription of the time of the Ikṣvāku King Virapurisadata (second half of the 3rd cent.) refers to the visit of pilgrims from *Cīna* to the Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The author suggests that an early bronze statuette (A.D. 429) has the closest correspondence to a stucco-relief of a seated Buddha from Ak-terek in the Khotan region (figs. 24 & 25). I am sorry, I do not find any great resemblance between the two figures.

Chapter III. *An Approach to Chinese Sculpture*, by Langdon Warner; pp. 37–50; figs. 27.

This interesting chapter deals especially with the Chinese bronze works and some Japanese wood works in Chinese style. In fig. 1 (a ritual vessel) the author introduces to us an excellent piece of bronze work which proves that the Chinese were consummate workers in bronze as early as the middle of the first millennium B.C.

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Figs. 17 & 18 (bronze screen behind and bronze lotus-pond beneath the Tachibana Trinity) represent what are really wonders of Chinese art.

Chapter IV. *The Royal Tombs of An-yang*, by Prof. Paul Pelliot; pp. 51–59; figs. 19.

The author gives an interesting account of the results of excavations at the Royal Tombs at An-yang. We know that the Chinaman spends the greater part of his inheritance in burying his parents, and it is only natural that many articles of archæological interest have been discovered from royal tombs. It is very interesting, however, that in those tombs of the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. have been found bronzes and stone sculptures which, in technique and style, can be compared with any product of any period of Chinese art. It is also interesting that one of the An-yang Tombs shows signs of an ancient excavation, which represents 'the results of the antiquarian zeal of a Sung Emperor of the beginning of the twelfth century, the Emperor Hui Tsung, a great collector of works of art'.

The book under review is an excellent work, and the authors have contributed much to the international character of Chinese art. It will no doubt be welcomed by all interested in the study of Oriental art.

D. C. SIRCAR.

NO-MAN'S-LAND: Published by Theosophy Company (India), Ltd., London and 51, Esplanade Road, Bombay, India.

It is a reprint of five anonymous articles from 'The Aryan Path'. The titles of the articles are: (1) Beyond Human Horizon, (2) Divine Incarnations, (3) Gods, Heroes and Men, (4) The Omnipresent Spirit and (5) Spirits, embodied and disembodied. In all these articles the writer has attempted to show that the time is approaching when there will be an understanding between science, philosophy and religion. Orthodox science is giving up its rank materialism while religion, its dogmatism. Proper, unbiassed, and synthetic approach should be made by sincere truth-seekers for the precise understanding of the conception of Self, Divine Incarnation and true spiritualism. In this quest for truth men belonging to different faiths and nations should join, for Truth is not the monopoly of any nation or creed. Science studies phenomena, philosophy directs its attention to noumena while religion or mysticism wants to realize the ultimate reality.

The articles are well written and will be helpful.

T. D. KAR.

THE OCEAN OF THEOSOPHY by William Q. Judge (2nd Indian Edition, 1937), published by Theosophy Company (India), Ltd., London and 51, Esplanade Road, Bombay. Price Re.1 (paper) and Rs.2 (cloth).

The present edition of this book is simply a reprint of the 1st edition of the book, with no additions or alterations. The book has 153 pages and is divided into 17 chapters dealing with all the fundamental principles of Theosophy. The terminology used in expressing the principles of man is the same as that used in Esoteric Buddhism. We do not agree with some of the interpretations of Judge. The book is written in a comprehensive style and will serve as a very good text book for students of Theosophy.

T. D. KAR.

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PRĀGAITIHĀSIK MOHEN-JO-DAḌO (Bengali) by Kunjagovinda Goswami, M.A., Research Fellow, Calcutta University; with a foreword by Nanigopal Mazumdar; pp. xvi+165, with 12 plates; published by the University of Calcutta, 1936.

The author is a trained archæologist himself, and he had spent several years in excavation at Harappa, Mohen-jo-daro, etc. He is therefore fully qualified to write a popular book like the present, describing the chief discoveries made in this region, and he has indeed succeeded in giving a fascinating picture of the Mohen-jo-daro civilization. The problems relating to age and script, have been soberly and succinctly discussed. The author is frankly of opinion that the Mohen-jo-daro civilization is pre-Vedic, though various elements of it are persisting till the present day. Mr. Goswami's success in dealing with archæology in Bengali is highly encouraging.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

THE VEDIC IDEA OF SIN by Henry Lefever, Ph.D., Dr. Williams' scholar in the University of Tübingen; London Mission Press, Nagercoil, Travancore, India; pp. 105; 1935.

This is a doctoral dissertation prepared under the guidance of Prof. Wilhelm Hauer of Tübingon. The author's approach to the problem is theological. The author begins his book with a discussion of the term *ṛta* (and *anṛta*), but fails to note the significant fact that *anṛta* is normally the opposite of *satya* in the Vedic literature, not of *ṛta*. We got *sac cā 'sac ca*, but never *satyāsatya* so far as I can remember, though quite often *satyānṛta*. The author should have given some thought to the term *pāpmagṛhīta*, which is analogous to *gandharvagṛhīta*, etc. This clearly shows, I think, that sin was not considered as something inborn in man which could not be removed. Only in this light we can understand the elaborate charms of the Ātharvaṇa literature. Moreover it is a fundamental mistake to consider *pāpa*, *anṛta* and *āgas* as synonymous (p. 19). There are, however, many fine observations in the book,—as, for instance, when the author says, 'the ground of the Kathenotheism was the conception of a transcendent World Order' (p. 30). Though small, the book is full of valuable suggestions and amply repays perusal.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, for the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukthankar with the co-operation of various scholars; Fascicule 8, Virāṭaparvan, by Raghu Vira; pp. lx+362; Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1936.

Not much remains to be said by way of appreciation of the Poona edition of the Mahābhārata beyond registering the fact that the high standard of work set up by Dr. Sunkthankar has been fairly uniformly maintained in all the fascicules that have appeared.

The Virāṭaparvan is doubtless the most popular part of the Mahābhārata, and therefore the most difficult to reconstruct. It even travelled beyond the frontiers of India to Java. Hence it is that the result achieved by Dr. Raghu Vira is somewhat unflattering. 'Out of a total of 1834 stanzas of the constituted text the editor is sure for only about 300 stanzas.' It seems that the main achievement of the editor lies in pointing out what portions of the Virāṭaparvan are less than certain. The editor confesses his leaning on the Northern tradition for want of anything better (*āpaddharma*), but says immediately afterwards: 'We have not given undue weight

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to either of the recensions'. In spite of the modifying adjective 'undue', this is somewhat disconcerting. Dr. Raghu Vira has set his face resolutely against the data of the Parvasaṃgraha, though, however, the late Mr. Utgikar had succeeded in realizing, the exact number of verses demanded by it for the Virāṭaparvan. Such an attitude too does not seem to be quite defensible. To be led solely by the Parvasaṃgraha would be surely disastrous. But it is surely carrying scepticism too far to state dogmatically 'that the Parvasaṃgraha figures, even when uniform, can be no sure guide in our effort at going beyond the versions'. A sure and only guide it surely cannot be. But can it not claim to be one of the guides, and is it not worth while to try to reconcile its data with the actual text of the versions if it does not entail too great a sacrifice? Both these questions I would answer in the affirmative.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY, Vol. XI. for the year 1936, published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland, 1938, pp. 1–125 with 13 plates. Price £1 (for non-members), 6 Guilders (for ordinary members) and Rs.6 (for Indian members).

This book begins with an interesting and instructive introduction dealing with the work of the Archæological Survey of India during the year 1935-36, the progress of the study of Indian Numismatics in 1936 and the advancement of the Archæological research in Hyderabad-Deccan, Baroda, Indo-China and Indonesia in 1936. It further gives us an account of the specimens of Andhra Art recently found in Ceylon. It contains a happy collection of books and articles published in periodicals on such topics as archæology, art, history, architecture, sculpture, painting, iconography, palæography, epigraphy, chronology, ancient history, ancient geography, numismatics, etc. It also furnishes us with a list of valuable publications relating to Ceylon, Further India, Indonesia and adjoining territories (e.g., Iran, Mesopotamia, Turan, Afghanistan, Tibet, China, Japan, Korea, etc.). It has 13 excellent plates, some of which relate to the ancient site of Rājgīr, Nālandā, Lauriya Nandangaṛh and Paithan. All these illustrations including those of Andhra sculptures found in Ceylon and monuments and terra-cottas of Indo-China materially enhance the value of this work. The Kern Institute deserves much praise for publishing this useful bibliography, and everybody interested in Indian art and archæology will surely welcome it as a work of outstanding merit in the field of archæological research.

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA (in Bengali) by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., published by Messrs. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, 203-1-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, pp. 1–128 with 9 plates. Price Rs.1-8-0.

The book under review is a critical and comprehensive treatment of the life and doctrine of Buddha. It consists of 19 chapters together with a concluding chapter and an index. The first two chapters deal with the birth, childhood and adolescence of Siddhartha, and his renunciation of the household life. The third, fourth and fifth chapters record the account of the return of Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka, the quest of the Prince and the Prince's search for truth. The sixth and seventh chapters give us an account of his attainment of Buddhahood and the turning of the Wheel of Law. The eighth and ninth chapters deal with Buddha and Wanderers (parivrājakas), and Buddha and Nirgranthas; while the tenth and eleventh are devoted to Buddha

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and contemporary religious teachers, and Buddha and royal personages. The twelfth and thirteenth chapters furnish us with an account of Buddha and womenfolk, and Buddha and Māra, while in the fourteenth and fifteenth, we find details of Buddha and Devadatta, and the chief disciples of Buddha. The sixteenth and seventeenth chapters narrate the wanderings of Buddha and the great decease of the Lord; while the last two chapters are exclusively devoted to Buddhist Saṃgha, and Buddhist religion and philosophy. The concluding chapter depicts the character of Buddha both as a man and a religious teacher. The book is written in a very lucid style and the diction is masterly. Dr. Law has taken much pains to make it exhaustive, accurate, useful and up-to-date. The knotty points of Buddhist philosophy and religion have been intelligently solved in this treatise. The bibliography given at the beginning is no doubt very useful. The illustrations consist of Buddha, Lumbini garden, Māyā, Asita, Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka, Bimbisāra, offering of rice-gruel by Sujātā, Rāhula and Ānanda, which suit the purpose very well. This book will be found very useful both by the beginners and advanced students of Buddhist thought. Dr. Law is to be congratulated on the successful performance of such a difficult task.

S. N. DUTT.

VIMUTTIMAGGA AND VISUDDHIMAGGA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY by P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Pali, Fergusson College, Poona, 1937, Royal 8vo, pp. 1–171.

This admirable work embodies the results of Dr. Bapat's 'comparative study of Upatissa's Vimutimagga in the Chinese Translation with Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga'. It represents in the main, as he tells us in the preface, his 'Dissertation submitted in 1932 to the Harvard University' 'for the Doctorate of Philosophy'. The Pali original of the Vimuttimagga is irrevocably lost, which circumstance alone entitles the monograph to high importance. But Professor Bapat finds in R. Yozai Ehara and two young Bhikkhus of Ceylon three scholars to co-operate with him to make the contents of Upatissa's treatise known to us. Professor Bapat's is not, however, a mere work of translation from the Chinese but throughout a critical comparative study, a task for which he is eminently fit. Upatissa's work consists of 12 chapters, and as regards its contents and even its chapter-headings, it has not much value to those who have read Buddhaghosa's masterly encyclopedic 'Path of Purity' except for certain differences in views between the two scholiasts. Thus, upon the whole, the value of the profound comparative study carried on by Dr. Bapat is historical. Dr. Bapat has carefully marshalled all evidences supporting his verdict in favour of priority of Upatissa. In going to answer why Buddhaghosa has not mentioned Upatissa anywhere by name, the author has relevantly drawn our attention to the rivalry which had existed in Ceylon between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagirivihāra schools of thought. I should say that thereby he has opened out a new line of investigation which is likely to prove very fruitful in understanding the nature of the conflict of views that served ultimately to enrich Buddhist thought. Another new point which he has suggested with a good deal of reason on his side is that, perhaps, the Peṭaka quoted by Buddhaghosa and others was not the Peṭakopadesa, as opined by Hardy, but a separate work, though of the same class as the Netti and Peṭakopadesa.

B. M. BARUA.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1933. Printed by the Superintendent at the Government Press, Bangalore. Pp. i–xi, 1–321, pls. I–XXIV, 1936.

In this admirable work an account has been given of annual work of the archæological department of the Indian state of Mysore for the year 1933. It is divided into five parts, viz., Pt. I. Administrative, Pt. II. Study of ancient monuments, Pt. III. Numismatics, Pt. IV. Manuscripts and Pt. V. Inscriptions. In the first part a brief account of the important findings by the department has been given. In the second part a detailed study of many important temples has been made. All these temples are situated in Hosaholalu, Govindana-halli, Nuggihalli, Nadkalasi, Hole-Narsipur, Mosale, Koravangala, Harnahalli, Hullekere, Javagal, Belavadi, Chatchathalli and Doddagoddavalli. Of all these temples the most important are the *Lakshmīnārāyaṇa* temple at Hosaholalu, *Pañchaliṅgeśvara* temple at Govindanahalli, *Lakshmīnarasiṁha* temple at Nuggihalli, *Nāgeśvara* and *Channakeśava* temples at Mosale, *Bucheśvara* temple at Koravangala, *Lakshmīnarasiṁha* and *Someśvara* temples at Harnahalli, *Keśava* temple at Hullekere, *Lakshmīnarasiṁha* temple at Javagal and *Vīra-nārāyaṇa* temple at Belavadi. One *Jaina* Basti has been found at Javagal, a predominantly Brahmanical site. Friezes depicting the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have been found on the walls of *Lakshmīnārāyaṇa* temple at Hosaholalu and *Lakshmīnarasiṁha* temple at Javagal. It is important to note that many friezes depicting the two great epics and belonging to different ages have been found in India; but none has as yet studied this fascinating problem as a whole. It is desirable that some scholar should take up this problem for research. In the third part an account has been given of the discovery of coins of kings belonging to the dynasties of Early *Chālukyas* of *Bādāmi*, *Chālukyas* of *Kalyāni etc.* In the fourth part the discovery of a palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Padma-Purāṇada-ṭiku* by *Chikupādhyāya* has been reported. This work which is incomplete is an abridgment in Kannada of the famous Sanskrit *Purāṇa* called *Padamapurāṇa*. It is desired that this work should be published as early as possible. In the fifth part sixty-seven inscriptions have been edited of which some are recently discovered and some were discovered before. Among all these inscriptions the most important are the Karamanga grant of the Kadamba King *Ravivarmā*, Basavatti stone inscription of the Gaṅga King *Śrīpurusha* dated Ś. 722, Sringeri stone inscription of Bukkā I dated Ś. 1277, Sringeri copper-plate grant of *Harihara* II dated Ś. 1302, Belugula copper-plate grant of *Harihara* II dated Ś. 1306, Vidyāraṇyapura copper-plate grant of *Harihara* II dated Ś. 1309, Bhanuvalli copper-plate grant of *Harihara* II dated S. 1319, Kaigai copper-plate grant of Devarāya II dated Ś. 1353, Manjugani copper-plate grant of Devaraya II dated S', 1354, Chandisetti Koppa grant of Vīrabhadra Nāyaka dated Ś. 1552, Surapura grant of Śrīraṅgarāya II dated Ś. 1582 and Chandraśekharapura grant of Somaśekhara Nāyaka dated Ś. 1652.

Though this report is an admirable one, yet there are some drawbacks and mistakes in it which the present reviewer wishes to point out. The most important drawback is that there is no account of any excavation work done during the year under report. It may be hoped that the Mysore archæological department will pay due attention to excavation work in the future. The following are some of the mistakes which the present reviewer wishes to point out. Firstly, in the second part it has been stated that the constituent parts of many temples are made of soap-stone. For example, the author has observed, 'The tower (pl. XIX. 2) which is also completely of soap-stone is peculiar since it is curvilinear in outline with an eight-pointed *Śikhara* on top' (p. 32). Soap-stone has been defined in the Oxford English dictionary as 'a massive variety of talc of which various kinds are found in several countries, having a smooth greasy feel, and used for various economical or ornamental

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purposes (occas. as a soap); soap-rock, steatite; also loosely applied to certain soft clays, etc.' (The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. IX, p. 352.) This clearly shows that soap-stone cannot be used for architectural purposes. Secondly, it has been stated that 'Buddha is seated naked in *Yogāsana*' (p. 44). The present reviewer is not aware of any image of *Buddha* which is naked and as there is no illustration of this image, he cannot verify this statement. Further no proper attention has been paid to the placing of diacritical marks in transliterating words of Sanskrit origin, e.g., to mention a few cases only, *Simhalalāṭa* (p. 32), *Govardhanadhāri* (p. 47) for *Siṁhalalāṭa* and *Govardhandhārī* respectively. However, these draw-backs and mistakes which are of a trivial nature do not minimize the value of this work. A list of published inscriptions arranged according to dynasties and dates and an index have been very judiciously added. The printing is good and the plates are also excellent. We believe that this publication will be found helpful by all who are interested in Indian archæology.

C. C. D. G.

GĪTĀ-RAHASYA OR KARMA-YOGA-ŚĀSTRA. By Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Translated by Bhalchandra Sitaram Sukthankar, M.A., LL.B., Vol. I. Published by R. B. Tilak Lokamanya Tilak Mandir 568 Narayan Peth, Poona city. Price (in India) Rs.6.

The book consists of a series of essays on the doctrine of Self-less Action as propounded in the Gītā. The essays were originally written in Marathi Language and since its first publication in 1915 it underwent translations in different Indian languages, viz., Hindi, Gujrathi, Bengali, etc. The author intended to translate it into English but by his sudden death the work was stopped. But to fulfil his last desire this edition has been brought out by Mr. Sukthankar. The book contains an exhaustive treatment of all the objections that can be raised against Niṣkāma-Karma-yoga (the doctrine of self-less action). The author's aim is to prove that the Gītā is a book essentially written to inculcate the theory of Karma-Yoga, and Bhakti-yoga (doctrine of Devotion) and Jñāna-yoga (doctrine of knowledge) are incidental to it. The book is worth perusal as it contains a comparative study of the metaphysical and ethical ideas of the East and the West.

N. B. VEDANTATIRTHA.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY ABROAD, by Kalidas Nag. A report intended primarily for Indian students desiring to specialize in those subjects in the research centres of Europe and America; pp. 125, with 19 plates, published by the University of Calcutta, 1936.

According to Boswell, Dr. Johnson once expressed the opinion that knowledge is of two kinds: knowledge of what, and knowledge of where. It is the thirst for this second kind of knowledge which is responsible for the small crowds at the show-windows of book-shops. And Dr. Kalidas Nag in the present volume has made an attempt to satisfy this kind of thirst in Indians interested in art and archæology. Dr. Nag gives here an inspiring account of his last voyage round the world on a pilgrimage to the chief culture-centres of the globe. Particularly interesting is his itinerary of South America.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

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A DICTIONARY OF THE SINHALESE LANGUAGE, Vol. I; Part I (1935), pp. lxii+30; Part 2 (1936), pp. 31–78. Compiled under the direction of Professor Wilhelm Geiger by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka and others.

Sinhalese holds a unique position among the Indo-Aryan dialects, for from the very first it was cut off from the allied languages of India by a vast block of Dravidian languages, and therefore succeeded in retaining many astonishing archaic features which would have been certainly obliterated by the gradual process of assimilation and accommodation if communication with Central and Northern India had been quite unhindered. The language is, however, extremely composite in character as Geheimrat Geiger and Sir D. B. Jayatilaka have shown in their highly interesting and instructive preface, in which special relations of Ceylonese with particular Middle Indo-Aryan dialects have been skilfully discussed. These affinities suggest that there must have taken place at least two different waves of immigration,—one from the east and another from the west.

The authors of the dictionary have wisely decided to make it more philological than linguistic, for linguistic research on an extensive scale should be started only on the firm basis of a philological dictionary.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

CONCEPT OF RĪTI AND GUṆA IN SANSKRIT POETICS IN THEIR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, by P. C. Lahiri. A thesis approved for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Dacca, pp. iv+310. Published by the University of Dacca, 1937.

Mr. P. C. Lahiri has in this volume traced the treatment of Rīti and Guṇa in Sanskrit poetics by all the chief writers from Bharata to Jagannātha. The author has taken much pains to collect materials for the study of these two concepts from all available sources, including manuscripts of works which are still unpublished. Herein lies the chief value of the work: the presentation is, I fear, not altogether happy. It suffers from *Unübersichtlichkeit.* Technical terms have been rarely translated. Nor has the author succeeded in transcending the atmosphere of tradition on which he has to give judgment. Yet the work marks a distinct advancement in our knowledge of Sanskrit poetics inasmuch as a mass of data on the concepts of *rīti* and *guṇa* have been collected here for the use of the future writers on the subject,

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

BHṚṄGADŪTAṂ (OF SATĀBADHĀNA KṚṢṆADEVA) edited by Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi, M.A., Vyākaraṇāchārya, Kāvyatīrtha.

The learned editor, Prof. Chaturvedi, has done a distinct service to the domain of Sanskrit literature by bringing to light this highly interesting lyrical gem written in close imitation of the Meghadūta. It consists of 126 stanzas composed in the Mandākrānta metre of four lines of seventeen syllables, and abounds in exuberant erotic emotions adroitly coupled with the poet's skill in depicting the landscape of Vrajabhūmi in vivid colours.

In his introduction the editor has dealt with the various interesting features of the Dūta Kāvyas, and has critically brought out the points that fundamentally distinguish other works of the same or similar name from the work in hand. The learned footnotes and introduction bear ample testimony to the editor's scholarship and sound judgment. The introduction which is very illuminating discusses the

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names of the author and his work according to the colophon given at the end of the Manuscript, and it also furnishes the reader with the necessary information regarding the time and place of the author, the poem, its style and its contents.

KALIRANJAN MUKHERJEE.

ÈTUDES DE GRAMMAIRE SANSKRITE, PREMIÈRÈ SERIE, by Louis Renou, pp. 146 (lithograph). Librarie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, 1936.

Professor Renou has given in this volume the first series of his studies on Sanskrit grammar. Of the three studies contained in the volume the first concerns the use of participles from the Ṛgveda to the classical Sanskrit. The participles being neither purely verbal nor purely nominal, but participating in the characteristics of both, offer a highly interesting, though extremely difficult, problem which had not been fairly faced before. Prof. Renou starts his enquiry on the original semantic value of the participle not with RV. but with AB., for in syntactical questions the prose of the Brāhmaṇas is often more archaic than the metrical mantras. But he finds that the participle has here almost completely lost its nominal aspects and more and more adopted the values of a verb. In § 14 Prof. Renou discusses the very delicate question, whether the participles too, like other verbal adjectives, functioned also as personal verb-forms, and he adduces passages which render it difficult to deny the possibility. But the tendency of the post-Vedic classical language was to reassert the nominal values of participles which were predominant in the language of the Saṃhitās. On the whole, however, the participle has retained throughout the character of a predicate. Regarding the usage in Ṛgveda, the author's concluding remarks are highly interesting.

The second study contained in the volume deals with the position of accessory words in the Ṛgveda. Since Wackernagel discovered the law of the position of enclitics in Indo-European languages, hardly any effort has been made to pursue that line of enquiry with special reference to Sanskrit as Prof. Renou has done here. If is indispensable to all students of Vedic grammar.

In the third and the last study contained in the volume Prof. Renou has examined the innovations of the Grammar of Candragomin. The Kātantra is but a short summary of Pāṇini, but the same can by no means be said of the Grammar of Candragomin. It was composed at a time when the Buddhistic Sanskrit could no longer be ignored. Yet it was extremely difficult to give full recognition to the new developments in the language in face of the autocratic Pāṇinian tradition. But the system of iṣṭis and upasaṃkhyānas offered a loophole through which something could be done to do justice to the new forms which were coming up in the language. This is what Candragomin has attempted, though in a very diffident and hesitating manner. The fragments of Kumāralāta's grammar discovered in Central Asia prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era a resolute attempt had been made to give an independent status to Buddhistic Sanskrit. But in the 7th century A.D. when Candragomin is supposed to have lived, the Buddhists seem to have been thoroughly subdued, even linguistically, by the proud and intolerant Brahmins.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

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THE DATE OF THE REBELLIONS OF TILANG AND KAMPILA AGAINST SULTAN MUḤAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ—I

By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA

The outbreak of the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila against the authority of the Dehli emperor Muḥammad bin Tughlaq Shāh is placed in the year A.H. 744 (1344-45 A.D.); and very little doubt is entertained about the genuineness of this date, although the conflicting character of the available evidence demands a thorough investigation of all the facts that have a bearing on the subject. The Muhammadan historians from whose accounts the information pertaining to the subject is drawn fall into two classes : contemporary writers who lived at the court of Sultan Muḥammad or elsewhere in his empire; and later historians who flourished during different times subsequent to the reign of the Sultan. Zia-ud-Dīn Barni, Ibn Baṭūta, and Badr-i Chach belong to the former. They came into intimate contact with the Sultan and his administration, and had exceptional opportunities of obtaining accurate information about men and events during his reign. Yāhya-bin Aḥmad, Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, 'Abdul Qādir Badāoni, and Muḥammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh Ferishta belong to the latter. Their accounts are based on earlier histories and traditions, and the information they impart is drawn from sources whose accuracy cannot be tested at present. Therefore, the accounts of the latter have not the same value as those of the former; and wherever the testimony of the contemporary writers is contradicted by the later historians their evidence should not be accepted in preference to the former, unless very strong reasons render the admission of such evidence imperative. The failure to keep this distinction in view is bound to cloud the issues and make the attainment of accurate results impossible.

Contemporary writers give the dates of the events they describe as rarely as possible. Occasionally, however, they break the monotony by citing a date which serves as a landmark in an otherwise uncharted ocean. Consequently, the exact time of the occurrence of a given incident cannot be easily discovered, as it is necessary to ascertain, at first, its position in the narrative in relation to the few dates that are given, and the events described before and after it. Hence arises the need for a general examination of the chronology of the leading rebellions in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. The earliest event of Muḥammad's reign which can be assigned to a

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definite date is the arrival of Ibn Baṭūta in Sindh. The traveller reached the river Indus on 1st Muḥarram 734 A.H. (12th Sept. 1333 A.D.). Ibn Baṭūta supplies also another important date. He set out from Dehli, where he sojourned for nearly eleven years, for China as an ambassador of the Sultan on 17th Ṣafar 743 A.H. (July 22, 1342 A.D.). Barni also mentions two dates. He assigns the arrival of the representative of the Egyptian Khalīfā at the court of Dehli to the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.);[1] and the news of the revolt of Gujerat to the end of Ramaẓān 745 A.H. (Feb. 1345 A.D.).[2] Lastly Badr-i-Chach supplies another date. He was despatched by the Sultan to Dēvgīr on 1st Sha'bān 745 A.H. (Dec. 8, 1344 A.D.), with the order recalling Qutlugh Khān from his post. These dates, though few and far between, are extremely useful in determining the relative chronology of the events of Sultan Muḥammad's reign, and their importance cannot be easily over-estimated.

Barni gives a long account of the rebellions of Sultan Muḥammad's reign in the order which is here adopted, as it is not only correct in the main but facilitates the discussion of the various points connected with the subject.

The earliest rebellion that disturbed the peace of the empire was headed by the Sultan's cousin Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp, the governor of Sagar in Deccan. Barni does not allude to this rebellion; but Ibn Baṭūta describes it at some length. This rebellion broke out before 1333 A.D.; for Ibn Baṭūta who came to India about the middle of that year saw the head of Kishlu Khān[3] suspended over the door of his own house at Multan. As Kishlu Khān is said to have incurred the displeasure of the Sultan because he ordered the interment of the stuffed skin of Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp which the Sultan sent round the provinces as a warning to intending rebels,[4] Garshāsp's rebellion must have broken out earlier than that of Kishlu Khān.

The later Muslim historians give the date of the outbreak of Bahā-ud-Dīn's rebellion, although they do not agree with one

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[1] Badr-i-Chach who wrote a poem in commemoration of the event gives the date of the arrival of the Khalīfā's representative in a chronogram. (Mah bar sāl-i-haft ṣad). Elliot interprets it as 746 A.H. (E.D., iii, p. 568). Probably his text has 'māh bar sāl-i-haft-ṣad', but Ishvari Prasad takes it to mean, I believe correctly, 745 A.H. This date, however, conflicts with the one given by Barni. Ishvari Prasad is of opinion that Barni is more correct than Chach (Qarauna Turks, i, p. 182).

[2] E.D., iii, p. 253.

[3] 'Iṣāmy spells the name as Kishli Khān.

[4] E.D., iii, p. 616.

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another. Ferishta asserts that Garshāsp rose up in revolt in 739 A.H. (1338 A.D.).[1] This date cannot be accepted, as it comes into conflict with Ibn Baṭūta's statement that it had broken out sometime before his arrival in 1333 A.D. Both Yāhya bin Aḥmad and Badāoni place it in 727 A.H. (1326-27 A.D.).[2] As this date leaves sufficient interval for the outbreak of two serious rebellions before the arrival of Ibn Baṭūta, it may be accepted as the actual date of the outbreak of Bahā-ud-Dīn's revolt. Another important fact which supports this date must not be overlooked. Ferishta states that during his stay at Dēvgīr at the time of Garshāsp's rebellion, the Sultan was 'so much pleased with the situation and strength of Dewgur and considered it so much more central than Dehli, that he determined to make it his capital'.[3] Coins struck at Dēvgīr in 727 A.H. (1326-27 A.D.) bearing the superscription 'cupola of Islam' clearly indicate that Muḥammad had transferred his capital from Dehli to Dēvgīr during that year. It follows from this, presuming the genuineness of Ferishta's information, that Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp had already set up the standard of rebellion by this time.

The next rebellion was excited by Bahrām Aiba better known by his title Kishlu Khān, the governor of Multan. At the time of the outbreak of this rebellion, the Sultan was in Dēvgīr.[4] Evidently, he had not yet returned to Dehli after he marched to Deccan for the suppression of Garshāsp's rebellion. The Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz, who wrote his work during the first half of the sixteenth century, states that Togao Mamede (Muḥammad Tughlaq) who overthrew the Hindu kingdom of Ānegondi (i.e. Kampili) stayed in that fortress for two years. 'The news came to him how that all the land which was first gained by him had rebelled. As soon as this was known to the king he sent to collect his people', and 'departed to his own kingdom'.[5] If the account of Nuniz is based on authentic information, it may be asserted that Sultan Muḥammad stayed in Deccan up to 1328 A.D., when he departed to Dehli on

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[1] Brigg's Ferishta, i, p. 418. But Ranking throws doubt on the date given in Brigg's Translation. 'A reference to the original text', says he, 'however, shows that the date given by Ferishta is the same as Badāoni'. i.e. 727 A.H. But a reference to the Neval Kishor Press text available in the Madras University Library, p. 135 shows that it has no date. Apart from this, the context in which this is described by Ferishta shows that the date given in Brigg's Ferishta is not out of keeping with it. He places this rebellion after Tarma Shīrīn's invasion (1327), and Himāchal expedition (1337).

[2] Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXII), p. 101; Al-Badāoni (Biblio. Ind.), i, pp. 302 ff.

[3] Brigg's Ferishta, i, p. 419.

[4] Barni, E.D., iii, p. 242.

[5] Nuniz; see Sewell: The Forgotten Empire, p. 296.

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obtaining the intelligence of some rebellions which had broken out in the northern part of his dominions. The statement of Nuniz is partly supported by Barni. 'As soon as he heard' of Aiba's rebellion, the Sultan, says he, 'hastened back to his capital, and collecting an army marched against Multan'.[1] Although the Muhammadan historians do not mention the date of the occurrence of this rebellion, they place it between Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp's rebellion in 727 A.H. and Tarma Shīrin's invasion of Hindustan in 729 A.H.[2] Therefore, Bahrām Aiba seems to have revolted in 728 A.H. (1327-28 A.D.)

The next rebellion, on Barni's list is that of Fakhra or Fakhr-ud-Dīn in Bengal. Barni gives no date to this incident. He places it, however, before Sayyid Jalāl's rebellion in Ma'bar, thereby indicating that it had taken place earlier. Yāhya bin Ahmad and Badāoni give A.H. 739 as the date of the rebellion,[3] but Ferishta refers it to 742 A.H.[4] The numismatic evidence, however, seems to support the date mentioned by Yāhya and Badāoni. There is a coin struck by Fakhr-ud-Dīn on his assumption of royalty bearing a date which has become the subject of much controversy. Blochmann and Haig read it 739 A.H., whereas Thomas and Ishvari Prasad contend that it is 737 A.H. The whole discussion revolves round the last Arabic word describing the date, whether it is saba' or tisa'.[5] Avoiding the technical details of the discussion, it may be stated here that 737 A.H. is too early a date for Fakhra's rebellion; and that until some less ambiguous evidence comes to light in support of the earlier date, 739 A.H. (A.D. 1338-39) may be tentatively accepted as the actual date of the outbreak of the rebellion.

Having thus tentatively fixed the date of Fakhr-ud-Dīn's rebellion, we may now proceed to find out whether it had actually preceded Sayyid Jalāl's revolt in Ma'bar. Though Yāhya, Badāoni, and Ferishta agree in placing the Ma'bar rebellion in A.H. 742 (1341 A.D.), it appears to have broken out, as a matter of fact, much earlier. Barni states that when the news reached the Sultan, he was engaged in laying waste the country in the neighbourhood of Kanauj. On hearing the information, the Sultan did not immediately proceed to Ma'bar, but sent an army to suppress the rebellion. The army, however, did not carry out the orders of the Sultan, but made common cause with the leader of the rebellion. As soon as the

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[1] E.D., iii, p. 242.

[2] Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXIII), pp. 101–103; Al-Badāoni Bibli. In., i, pp. 304-5.

[3] Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXIII), p. 106; Al-Badāoni Bibli. In., i, p. 308.

[4] Brigg's Ferishta, i, p. 423.

[5] JRAS., 1922, p. 349. Qarauna Turks, i, pp. 151-2.

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Sultan heard of the desertion of the army which he sent to Ma'bar, he hastened to Dehli to gather reinforcements.[1] Ibn Baṭūta declares that when he first came to Dehli from Multan about the end of A.D. 1333, he was told that 'the Sultan was at the time in the district of the town of Kanauj' which was at a distance of ten days' march from the capital.[2] He did not return to Dehli until 8th June 1334 A.D.[3] It is, therefore, certain that the Sultan remained in the neighbourhood of Kanauj from end of 1333 A.D., the time of Ibn Baṭūta's arrival in Dehli, almost up to the end of May 1334, when the Sultan must have set out to return to the capital. An epigraph recording the settlement of a dispute between the inhabitants of two villages included in the present Pudukottah State is dated in 27 Panguni of Sultan Muḥammad's 9th regnal year corresponding to 22 March 1334 A.D.[4] It follows that the Sultan's sovereignty was acknowledged at least in a part of Ma'bar until that date. Sayyid Jalāl did not yet probably raise the standard of revolt, though he must have done so immediately after.

This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the coins. The latest date found on the coins of Sultan Muḥammad struck in the Madura mint is A.H. 734 (1333-34). The earliest coin struck in the name of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥasan Shāh bears the date 735 A.H. (1334-35).[5] In view of what has been said above Sayyid Jalāl appears to have revolted in 735 A.H. and minted coins in his own name.

The chronology of the early Sultans of Madura given by Ibn Baṭūta also supports this conclusion, although no definite inference about the exact time of the outbreak of Sayyid Jalāl rebellion can be drawn from it, as it omits the number of years for which Sultan Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn had ruled before the arrival of the traveller at his camp in 1344-45 A.D. According to Baṭūta, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥasan Shāh—the title assumed by Sayyid Jalāl—ruled for 5 years; and his successor Udaiji for a little more than one year. Qutb-ud-Dīn who ascended the throne on his death reigned for forty days. He was succeeded by Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn.[6] It follows from this that Sayyid Aḥasan asserted his independence some six years before the accession of Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn. Now, one of the coins of Ghaiyāṣ-ud-Dīn bears the date 741 A.H. (1340-41).[7] Assuming that this was the year of his

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[1] E.D., iii, p. 243.
[2] Travels of Ibn Baṭūta (Broadway Travellers), p. 193.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[4] Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State: Chronological List No. 670.
[5] There is, however, a coin of Aḥasan which is said to bear the date 734 A.H. (1333-4); but this is said to be doubtful. Haig. JRAS., 1922, p. 344 *n.*
[6] K. A. N. Sastri: The Foreign Notices of South India.
[7] JRAS., 1909.

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accession, the outbreak of the rebellion of Sayyid Aḥasan must be placed in 1334-35 A.D.

The date of Sayyid Aḥasan's rebellion being thus definitely ascertained, it may now be asserted with confidence that Fakhra's rebellion in Bengal did not precede it, as stated by Barni, but occurred some four or five years later. Barni has blundered in reversing the relative position of these two rebellions in his list. It is probably to this blunder that the erroneous chronology adopted by later historians has to be traced ultimately.[1]

The next rebellion mentioned by Barni is that which was stirred up by Shāhu Lodi or Shāhu Afghān at Multan. Halājūn and Gulchandr rebelled about the same time at Lahore, although Barni passes over this incident almost in silence.[2] The later Muslim historians, who agree with Barni in placing Shāhu's rebellion after the outbreak in Ma'bar, give 744 A.H. as the date of its occurrence; while they refer the disturbance caused by Halājūn to the previous year. These dates cannot be accepted, as they run counter to the evidence of contemporary writers. Aḥmad Ayāz who accompanied the Sultan on his expedition to Ma'bar as far as Dēvgīr returned by royal orders to Dehli. On reaching the capital, he is said to have obtained the news of the outbreak of a disturbance at Lahore.[3] Ibn Baṭūta makes it clear that this disturbance was caused by

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[1] Although unconnected with the theme of the present essay, the date of the Qarāchal expedition may be briefly noticed here, as it can be determined only with reference to the date of Ma'bar rebellion. Yāhya bin Aḥmad assigns it to A.H. 738 (1337-38 A.D.), and Badāoni and Ferishta adopt it. This has been accepted as the correct date of the expedition by recent scholars. Haig sees 'no ground for questioning the statements of these two historians'. He discovers some connection—on what grounds it is not known—between the Qarāchal expedition and the conquest of Nagarkoṭ in A.H. 738 (1337-38 A.D.) mentioned by Badr-i-Chach (JRAS., 1922, p. 348). And Ishvari Prasad adopts the same view without question. (Qarauna Turks, i, p. 126). No substantial reason is brought forward by these scholars in support of the date adopted by them. It is based only on an assumption that Qarāchal expedition is connected with the conquest of Nagarkōt. They, however, overlook one important point. All the three later Muslim historians mentioned above place the Qarāchal expedition before the outbreak of Ma'bar rebellion. In this they are supported by Ibn Baṭūta who deviates but seldom from chronological order. The consensus of the opinion of the contemporary as well as the later Muslim writers is that the Qarāchal expedition had taken place before the outbreak of Ma'bar rebellion. As the date of the latter is definitely known to be 1334-35 A.D., the former must be assigned to a still earlier date. It is not improbable that the Sultan sent the army against Qarāchal in 1332-33 A.D.

[2] Aḥmad Ayāz whom the Sultan despatched from Dēvgīr found on his arrival at Dehli 'that a disturbance had broken out in Lahore, but he suppressed it'. (Barni, E.D., iii, p. 243). But for the information derived from other sources, the facts connected with this rebellion must have remained in obscurity.

[3] Barni, E.D., iii, p. 243.

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Malik Halājūn and his Ghakkar lieutenant Amīr Kulchand. Now, the Sultan set out with his army from Dehli to put down the Ma'bar rebellion on Jan. 5, 1335 A.D.[1] The Sultan was not absent for a long time from the capital; for owing to the outbreak of an epidemic in his camp at Warangal, he was obliged to abandon the campaign against Ma'bar and retire to Dēvgīr. Having made some alteration in the administration of the southern provinces, he 'returned to Dehli by uninterrupted marches'.[2] He reached the capital either at the end of 1335 A.D., or at the beginning of the next year.[3] Therefore the revolt of Halājūn and his suppression must have taken place in 1335 A.D. As the intelligence of Shāhu Afghān's rebellion at Multan reached the Sultan while he was staying at Dehli after his return from Deccan, Shāhu must have set up the standard of revolt in 1336 A.D.[4]

[1] Ibn Baṭūta states that the Sultan left Dehli for Ma'bar 'on the 9th of the first Jumādá' of some year which he does not specify. Prof. Gibbs gives 21st October, 1341 A.D. as its corresponding date in the Christian Calendar. (Travels of Ibn Baṭūta, p. 210—Broadway Travellers). But this is wrong; for the Sultan who returned from Kanauj to Dehli on 8th June, 1334 A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 206) to gather reinforcements and lead the expedition to Ma 'bar would not have waited until 1341 A.D. Therefore, 9th Jumādá mentioned by Baṭūta in this connection must be 9th Jumādá I of the year 735 A.H.

[2] Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi. (The Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXIII. p. 108.)

[3] On the authority of Ibn Baṭūta (iii, p. 338), Haig and Ishvari Prasad assert that the Sultan returned to Dehli only in July, 1337 A.D. But Ibn Baṭūta gives no date in this context. He describes here the rebellious intentions of Ibrāhīm Kharītadār at Hānsi, and then adds, 'When after an absence of two and half years, the Sultan returned to his capital, Ibrāhīm went to meet him'. Though Baṭūta does not mention the place from which the Sultan returned, both Haig and Ishvari Prasad assume that it was from Tilang; but this is not true, as Baṭūta mentions the place from which the Sultan returned in another context. It was from Sargdwāri, where the Sultan had sojourned for two and a half years on account of the visitation of a severe famine in Dehli. 'The Sultan having won a victory over 'Ain-ul-Mulk', says Baṭūta, 'returned to Dehli after an absence of two and a half years'. Moreover, Barni states that the Sultan after his return from Daulatābad 'soon recovered his health at Dehli' (E.D., iii, p. 244). It is unlikely that he did not recover his health for two and a half years. Another contemporary historian 'Iṣāmy, whose account will be noticed in the next section, states that the Sultan after a stay of a month at Dēvgīr hastened to Dehli.—

Yake māh dar Daultābād mānd
Digar rūz dar simt-i-Dihly barānd
Hamī raft manzil ba manzil ḥasham
Shahinshah dar u bā firāvān qadam. The Futūh-us-Salāṭīn.

[4] Ibn Baṭūta places Shāhu's rebellion immediately before that of Qāẓī Jalāl in Gujarat in 744 A.H. This is, however, contradicted by all the other Mussalman historians. Although they are not agreed about the exact date of its occurrence, they unanimously assign it to the period before the outbreak of the four rebellions during the Sultan's stay at Sargdwāri. Therefore, the late date suggested by Ibn Baṭūta's itinerary must be attributed to one of those occasional lapses of the memory of the traveller.

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As soon as the Sultan heard of Shāhu's rebellion, he marched with his forces towards Multan; Shāhu, however, did not give trouble; being alarmed at the approach of the royal army, he fled to the hills of Afghanistan without offering resistance.[1]

As the clouds of disturbance which gathered together at Multan vanished as rapidly as they had come together, Sultan Muḥammad turned his attention to the affairs of Sannām, Sāmāna, Kaithāl and Kahrām. The Hindu tribes inhabiting these districts became rebellious and withheld the tribute. To bring them back to subjection, the Sultan led his troops towards Sannām and Sāmāna; and while he was engaged in subduing the inhabitants, the Hindus in the south of Deccan threw off the imperial yoke and re-established their independence.

'While this was going on', says Barni, 'a revolt broke out among the Hindus at Orangal. Kanyā Nāyak had gathered strength in the country. Malik Maḳbul, the Nāib Vazier, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Orangal which was thus entirely lost. About the same time one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak whom the Sultan had sent to Kampila, apostatized from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kampila كمپله also was thus lost, and fell into the hands of the Hindus'.[2]

It is evident that these rebellions broke out in 1336 A.D. Ferishta, however, assigns them to a very late date. According to him, Kishṇā Nāyak who lived near Warangal paid a visit to Balāl Dēv, the Rāja of Karṇāṭak in 744 A.H. (1344 A.D.), and organized a rebellion which in the end resulted in the complete overthrow of the Muslim power in the south.[3] This date, though erroneous, had been generally accepted as genuine by all the writers on South Indian history. Haig assigns it, on what authority it is not known, to A.H. 746 (A.D. 1345-6).[4] The date mentioned by Ferishta, not to speak of that of Haig, is utterly impossible. For there was no Balāl Dēv whom Kishṇā Nāyak could have approached for help in 1344 A.D. Ballāla III died about the end of 1342 A.D. or early in the next year; and his son, Ballāla IV who ascended the throne in the middle of 1343 A.D. was driven out of his kingdom by king Harihara I of Vijayanagara and his brothers within three months of his coronation.[5] Therefore, Kishṇā Nāyak's visit to Balāl Dēv could not have taken place in 1344 A.D. Consequently, the date assigned

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[1] E.D., iii, p. 245.
[2] E.D., iii, pp. 245 ff.
[3] Briggs' Ferishta, i, p. 427.
[4] JRAS., 1922, p. 364.
[5] See my monograph on the Origin of the City and Empire of Vijayanagara, (The Bulletins of the Department of Indian History and Archæology, the University of Madras, No 4), p. 144.

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by Ferishta to the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila must be rejected as untenable. As there is no serious objection against the date suggested by the contemporary historian, Barni, it is not unreasonable to accept 1336 A.D. as the year in which the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila had broken out.

The Sultan having put down the rebellions of the Hindus of Sannām, Sāmāna, etc. returned to Dehli where he remained for some time; but as the severe famine conditions obtaining in the country reduced the inhabitants of the capital to starvation, the Sultan was obliged to move with all his court to a temporary residence on the bank of the Ganges known as Sargdwāri. During the Sultan's sojourn in this place, no less than four rebellions broke out in different parts of the empire. Barni briefly describes them in the following order: (1) The outbreak of Nizām Mā-īn at Kara; (2) that of Shihāb Sultāni, or Nuṣrat Khān at Bidar; (3) that of 'Ali Shah Natthu at Gulburgah; and (4) that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk at Sargdwāri.[1] Barni, of course, gives no dates; but Yāhya bin Aḥmad who mentions these rebellions in the same order as Barni, assigns them to the following dates:

1. Rebellion of Nizām Mā-īn whom he calls Malik Nizām—A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344-45).
2. Rebellion of Shihāb Sultāni—745 A.H. (A.D. 1344-45).
3. Rebellion of 'Ali Shāh—746 A.H. (A.D. 1345-46).
4. Rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk—747 A.H. (A.D. 1345-46).

Badāoni and Ferishta adopt the same chronology, although it is open to serious objections; for, in the first place, these rebellions, according to Barni, had already taken place before the arrival of the representative of the Khalīfā at the court of Dehli in A.H. 744 (1343-44 A.D.).[2] Secondly, Ibn Baṭūta who left Dehli on 17th Safar 743 A.H. (22nd July 1342 A.D.).[3] on his embassy to China gives an account of 'Ain-ul-Mulk's rebellion, the last on the list of Barni mentioned above.[4] Moreover, he describes certain events which intervened between the suppression of 'Ain-ul-Mulk's rebellion and his departure to China. He fell into disfavour with the Sultan, on account of a visit which he paid to Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn in his cave near Dehli. He fasted for nine days in order to escape the consequences of the Sultan's wrath, and was set at liberty on the death of the Shaikh. Later, he left the Sultan's service and attached himself to the pious Imām Kamāl-ud-Dīn, 'the cave man'. The

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[1] E.D., iii, pp. 247-8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 249.
[3] The Travels of Ibn Baṭūta (Broadway Travellers), p. 215.
[4] E.D., iii, p. 619.

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Sultan who was in Sindh at this time summoned him to his camp. In obedience to the royal command, Baṭūta paid a visit to the Sultan about the end of Jumādá II 742 A.H. (early Dec. 1341 A.D.) and obtained his permission to travel to Mecca.[1]

As the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk had been suppressed some time before the visit mentioned above, it must have broken out about the beginning of 742 A.H. or more probably at the end of the previous year (1340-41 A.D.). The other rebellions must be assigned to a still earlier period. Assuming for the nonce that the intervening periods separating these rebellions, as indicated by the dates given by Yāhyabin Aḥmad and other later historians to be correct, the outbreak of the rebellion of 'Ali Shāh Natthu must be placed in 740 A.H. (1339-40 A.D.); and those of Shihāb Sultāni and Malik Mā-īn in the previous year (739 A.H.—1338-9 A.D.).

After the suppression of 'Ain-ul-Mulk's rebellion the Sultan paid a visit to the tomb of the Saint Mas'ud Salār at Bahraich; thence he returned to Dehli where he remained for three or four years.[2] As the peace of the empire was not disturbed during this period, the Sultan devoted his time to concerting measures for the improvement of the state. At the end of this period, reports having reached him of the speculations of Qutlugh Khān, the governor of the Marhatta country, he resolved to recall him from his post. Badāoni and Ferishta place the recall of Qutlugh Khān in the year 747 A.H., but this is wrong, for, Badr-i-Chāch whom the Sultan had despatched with the letter recalling the Governor from Dēvgīr received the royal order on 1st Sha'bān 745 A.D. (9th Dec. 1344 A.D.); and he must have reached Dēvgīr about the end of Feb. 1345, and delivered the Sultan's order to the governor. Therefore, Qutlugh Khān's departure from Dēvgīr must have taken place about March 1345 A.D. At the same time, the Sultan appointed Azīz Khammār as the governor of Malwa, and sent him to take charge of his office with instructions to exterminate the amīrs Ṣadah (Centurians) who were a source of constant trouble to his government. On arriving at Dhār, the seat of his government, Khammār summoned about eighty foreign amīrs and officers of the army and put them all to death.[3] While Khammār was thus engaged in destroying the amīrs of Malwa, their fellows in Gujarat headed by Qāzī Jalāl rose in revolt; and having waylaid Malik Muqbil, the nāib of the province, who was proceeding to Dehli with the collected revenues of his province at Baroda, plundered his camp and forced him to take refuge in the

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[1] The Travels of Ibn Baṭūta (Broadway Travellers), p. 212.
[2] Barni, E.D., iii, pp. 249, 250.
[3] E.D., iii, p. 252.

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fort of Khambāyat.[1] Yāhya and other later historians attribute these events to 748 A.H. (1347-48 A.D.); but as Barni who accompanied the Sultan in his campaign against the Gujerat rebels states that the intelligence of this insurrection reached Dehli 'at the end of Ramaẓān 745 A.H. (Feb. 1345)',[2] the date given by them must be rejected as false. On the receipt of the news of the insurrection of the amīrs of Gujarat, the Sultan collected an army and marched with it to put down the rebels. He halted for a short time at Sultānpūr where he received the information that Azīz Khammār, who advanced against the rebellious amīrs of Gujarat, was slain by them in battle.[3] On learning the state of affairs in Gujarat, the Sultan hastened to the province, and succeeded in stamping out the rebellion within a short time. He remained for a while at Broach collecting the revenue which had fallen in arrears for several years. It was at this time that the Sultan despatched some of his officers to Dēvgīr to fetch the revenues deposited in the treasury at Dhārāgar and escort the principal amīrs of Deccan to his camp at Broach. 'Ālim-ul-Mulk, the brother of Qutlugh Khān, who was in charge of the province, pending the arrival of 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartīz, the permanent incumbent, despatched the chief amīrs to Broach, as desired by the Sultan. The amīrs who were aware of the danger which threatened them with destruction, mutinied on the way, put to death the officers conducting them to the royal camp, and returned to Dēvgīr. They imprisoned 'Ālim-ul-Mulk, seized the treasury at Dhārāgar, and having declared their independence elected Ismā'il Mukh Afghān as their king. When the news of these developments reached the Sultan's camp, he marched to Dēvgīr with an army, defeated the rebels in a battle, and having scattered their forces laid seige to the fort of Dēvgīr, where Ismā'il Mukh Afghān took refuge. At the same time, he commissioned 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartīz, who accompanied him, to hunt up the rebel chiefs, specially Ḥasan Gangū, who fled in different directions. While the Sultan was staying at the royal palace at Dēvgīr, all the Mussalmans of the place waited on him on the new year's day (? 6th Feb. 1346 A.D.).[4] Therefore, the amīrs of Dēvgīr must have set up the standard of rebellion sometime earlier, either at the beginning of that year or more probably at the close of the preceding year.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 253. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[4] Ibn Baṭūta who describes this rebellion up to the defeat of the rebels in battle and the siege of Dēvgīr, left Bengal in A.H. 746 (4th May 1345 to 24th April, 1346 A.D.). He asserts 'All this occurred while I was in India'. Therefore the New Year Day on which all the Mussalmans of Dēvgīr waited on the Sultan must be the Naurūz, on the 1st of the month of Farwardīn (Persian month) which corresponds roughly to 6th Feb 1346 A.D.

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Although the rebels of Deccan were crushed they were not destroyed; a few of them with the rebel king Ismā'īl Mukh held out stubbornly at Dēvgīr, and several gathered round Zafar Khān (Ḥasan Kangu) who took refuge at Gulburgah. While the Sultan was attempting to stamp out the last embers of the rebellion, Taghi, a Turkish slave of the Sultan, had stirred up an insurrection in Gujarat. The Sultan left the operations in the Deccan in the hands of 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartīz and other officers, and hastened to Gujarat. As Taghi waxed strong, the Sultan devoted all his attention on concerting measures to put down his rebellion. This indirectly weakened the royal forces in the Deccan. Zafar Khān came out of his hiding and not only inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces but put to death Sartīz and other officers. Then, he proceeded to Dēvgīr, and having set aside Ismā'il Mukh crowned himself king on 24th Rabi' II. 748 (3rd August, 1347 A.D.).

The dates of the rebellions included in Barni's list being thus settled, their chronology may be briefly stated as follows:—

The rebellion of	Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp ..	1326-27 A.D.
,,	Kishlu Khān ..	1327-28 ,,
,,	Sayyid Jalāl in Ma'bar	1334-35 ,,
,,	Halājūn and Gulchandr in Lahore.	1335 ,,
,,	Shāhu Lodi in Multan	1336 ,,
,,	The Hindus of Sannām, Sāmāna, Kahrām and Kaithāl.	1336 ,,
,,	Kanyā Nāyak in Tilang	1336 ,,
,,	Apostate Governor of Kampila.	1336 ,,
,,	Fakhra in Bengal ..	1338-39 ,,
,,	Shihāb Sultāni in Bidar	1338-39 ,,
,,	Nizām Mā-īn at Kara ..	1338-39 ,,
,,	'Ali Shah Natthu at Kōer, Bidar, etc.	1339-40 ,,
,,	'Ain-ul-Mulk at Sargdwāri	1340-41 ,,
,,	The Amīrs Ṣadah (Centurions) of Gujarat.	1345 ,,
,,	The Amīrs Ṣadah (Centurions) of Dēvgīr.	1346 ,,
,,	Taghi in Gujarat ..	1346 ,,
The accession of	Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Kangū 3 Aug. ..	1347 ,,

(To be continued)

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THE HISTORY OF SVABHĀVOKTI IN SANSKRIT POETICS

By V. RAGHAVAN

जातिमिव अलङ्कृतीनां × × अधिकमुद्भासमानाम् ॥"

—*Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī.*

It is a proper emphasis on both the content, Emotion and Thought, and the form, the Poetic Expression,[1] that is contained in the dictum of the Sanskrit critics that poetry is Ukti pradhāna or Abhidhā pradhāna. As Tatna says in the well-known passage quoted by Hemacandra (K.A., p. 316), one may have the vision, Darśana, and be only a seer, Ṛṣi, but he becomes a poet, Kavi, only when he renders that vision into beautiful language, Varṇanā. The poetic expression is, generally speaking, heightened or made striking by an out-of-the-way-ness, which is called Vakrokti or Alaṁkāra. This figurative strikingness is pervasive of the whole range of the form and helps to detect poetry. When the figurative deviation from the ordinary mode of speaking is scrutinized, it is found that, in some cases, the deviation is more than in other cases. Indeed, there are cases which do not show any determinable and definable deviation, cases which we call 'natural description'. Such 'natural description', when it is of an emotional situation is called a case of Rasa, or Rasa-ukti according to Bhoja; and when it is of anything else or of an object of Nature, it is called Svabhāvokti. To a survey of the history of this concept, Svabhāvokti, is this paper devoted.

We first catch sight of Svabhāvokti in the introductory verses in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita:

नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः ।

विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुर्लभम् ॥

Jāti is the old name of Svabhāvokti. Bāṇa says that Jāti or Svabhāvokti must not be Grāmya, ordinary, vulgar, insipid or

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[1] Says Oscar Wylde in his Picture of Dorian Gray, p. 159:
'For, canons of good society are, or should be, the same as canons of art. Form is absolutely essential to it.'

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stale. Jāti is the statement of things as they are. That is what the ordinary speaker and writer make; poverty of poetic power, absence of a wizard-force with words, a sense of bare necessity, parsimony in expression, a sense of sufficiency, an anxiety to state the bare truth with absolute fidelity to facts—these produce a kind of expression which is a bare statement of things as they are. Ordinary talk, legal expressions, and scientific writings are examples. These two, ordinary bald talk and the technical jargon of science, Laukika and Śāstrīya expressions, are both excluded from the scope of Jāti. Jāti is a poet's statement of the natural state of things. Hence does Bāṇa say that Jāti has to be Agrāmya.[1]

How this 'natural description' came to be called Jāti is a question worth investigating. Perhaps Jāti refers to its origin from the root 'Jan' and means the presence or presentation of things as they arise or are. Or Jāti refers to the general characteristics that go to mark out a thing or a class of things.[2] Objects like trees, birds, and deer are described, delineating graphically the attributes and actions of their class. This would form a description of Jāti and perhaps this was the earliest variety of natural description to be recognized and christened, among Alaṁkāras. As a matter of fact, we find Daṇḍin giving four classes of Svabhāvokti,—Jāti, Dravya, Guṇa and Kriyā. It is reasonable to believe that the first and earliest variety, Jāti, was extended as name to the rest also. Says Daṇḍin:

स्वभावोक्तिश्च जातिश्चेत्याद्या सालङ्कृतिर्यथा। II. 8.

जाति-क्रियागुणद्रव्य-स्वभावाख्यानमीदृशम्॥ II. 13.

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[1] Vidyānātha qualifies Svabhāvokti by the word Cāru:

स्वभावोक्तिरसौ चारु यथावद्वस्तुवर्णनम्।

And Kumārasvāmin explains that Cāru means Agrāmya: Only a beautiful statement of things as they are, is Svabhāvokti:

"यत्र चारु सम्यगग्राम्यम्। × × × अत एवेदं ग्राम्यं नालङ्कारः इत्युक्तं दोषप्रकरणे।"

Pra. rud. Bāla. M. Edn., p. 297.

This Cārutva and Agrāmyatā are involved in the very conception of the Svabhāvokti Alaṁkāra and hence, Kuntaka's fear that the Cart-driver's talk also will become Svabhāvokti is unfounded.

स्वभावयुक्तमेव सर्वथा अभिधेयपदवीमवतरतीति शाकटिकवाक्यानामपि सालङ्कारता प्राप्नोति, स्वभावयुक्तत्वेन।

V.J. I., p. 24.

[2] Compare the discussion in Śāstras about Jāti as a Padārtha, along with Vyakti and Ākṛti. The view that 'Jāti' is Padārtha was held by Vājapyāyana and also by the Mīmāmsakas.

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And he illustrates Jāti-svabhāvokti by a description of the class attributes of the species of birds called parrots:

शुकैरारात्रकुटिलैः पत्त्रैर्हरितकोमलैः ।
त्रिवर्णराजिभिः कण्ठैः एते मञ्जुगिरः शुकाः ॥ II. 9.

We miss the word Jāti in Bhāmaha but not the concept of 'natural description'. In the introductory paragraph, it was pointed out that the proper cloak of poetic idea is a striking form, emphatic by virtue of its heightened nature; but that within its realm, there are varying degrees of strikingness and deviations from the normal mode of expression; and that, comparatively speaking, there are cases in which such deviation is least and which, as a consequence, are called Svabhāva-ukti, 'natural expression'.[1] Now, Bhāmaha proceeded with his treatment of poetry thus: Flaws must be avoided in expression and though a flawless piece by itself may be lovely, because of its natural beauty, yet embellishments beautify it, as ornaments beautify even the naturally lovely face of a woman.

रूपकादिरलङ्कारः तस्यान्यैर्बहुधोदितः ।
न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनितामुखम् ॥ I. 13.

When Bhāmaha says thus that a lovely face does not shine without ornaments, he seems to contradict himself. The conclusion we can draw from this verse is that though Bhāmaha emphasizes ornament very much, he is aware of a beauty which is natural to a piece of poetry, and which is not born of ornament. This ornament or Alaṁkāra is a certain striking deviation in expression for Bhāmaha. When no such striking deviation is recognizable, the expression is no Alaṁkāra. This is clear when Bhāmaha refutes Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa as Alaṁkāras, since, according to him, the expression as a whole in these cases does not show any Vakrokti.

हेतुः सूक्ष्मोऽथ लेशश्च नालङ्कारतया मतः ।
समुदायाभिधानस्य वक्रोक्त्यनभिधानतः ॥ II. 86.

[1] Rudraṭa made such an analysis of figures and his first class of Alaṁkāras forming the Vāstava group involve the least figurative Vaicitrya. Of the many in this group, the Vāstava-figure par excellence, as Namisādhu specially points out, is Jāti. And it is because Jāti concerns itself directly with the thing as it is, without any great śabda vaicitrya, that Bhoja counts Jāti as an Arthālaṁkāra and that, the first.

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If this Vakratva is not to be found, the expression is mere 'news', mere information-giving; it is Vārtā. Following the above quoted verse, Bhāmaha says:

गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुः यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः ।

इत्येवमादि किं काव्यं ? वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते ॥ II. 87.

The first line here is an instance of an utterance which as a whole, Samudāya abhidhāna, is bereft of any Vakrokti; and this is what is called Vārtā, news. Thus as against poetry, there is set this Vārtā, which may be insipid Loka Vārtā or technical Śāstra Vārtā. Vārtā, however, differs from Jāti or Svabhāvokti; for Vārtā is, to adopt Bāṇa's language, Grāmyā Jātiḥ. Thus, we have ordinary expression which is Vārtā; then natural poetic expression called Jāti or Svabhāvokti and then Vakrokti.

If these meanings are not settled thus, there will arise a loose use of Vārtā or Jāti. Daṇḍin uses the word Svabhāvokti or Jāti loosely when he says: श्लाघ्येष्वस्यैव सामान्यम् ; he refers here to Vārtā only. Similarly Vārtā also has been loosely used as a synonym of Jāti. Just after Atiśayokti, Yathāsaṁkhya and Utprekṣā, we find Bhaṭṭi illustrating a figure called Vārtā, by a verse describing the mountain Mahendra.

वार्ता—विषधरनिलये निविष्टमूलं शिखरशतैः परिमृष्टदेवलोकम् ।

घनविपुलनितम्बपूरिताग्रं फलकुसुमाचितवृक्षरम्यकुञ्जम् ॥

Bha. Kāvya. X. 45.

This shows that Vārtā is meant as a synonym of Jāti or Svabhāvokti and that in the pre-Bhāmaha literature, Svabhāvokti was recognized by some, some called it Svabhāvokti, others Jāti and still others Vārtā. Bhaṭṭi must be taken to call it Vārtā. The Viṣṇudharmottara, in its small section on Alaṁkāra, calls it Vārtā:

यथास्वरूपकथनं वार्तेति परिकीर्तितम् ।

In Bhāmaha, we find Vārtā used separately from Svabhāvokti; he restricts Vārtā to non-poetic utterances in which there is no Vakrokti. Daṇḍin does not mention the word Vārtā, but uses the words Jāti and Svabhāvokti as synonyms.

The Jayamaṅgalā[1] on Bhaṭṭi has an original explanation to offer on Vārtā, not found elsewhere. It says:

[1] There is a good amount of difference between the Jayamaṅgalā and Mallinātha's gloss on Bhaṭṭi on the question, which Alaṁkāra is illustrated in which verse by Bhaṭṭi. अथ लक्षण etc. X. 42 or 43 is an illustration of Svabhāvokti

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"वार्तेति तत्त्वार्थकथनात्। सा विशिष्टा, निर्विशिष्टा च। तत्र या पूर्वा सा स्वभावोक्तिरुदिता, यथेयमेव। तथाचोक्तं—

'स्वभावोक्तिरलङ्कारः इति केचित्प्रचक्षते।
अर्थस्य तादवस्थ्ये च स्वभावोऽभिहितो यथा॥"

(Bhāmaha, II. 93.)

निर्विशिष्टा वार्ता नामालङ्कारः। यथोक्तं—

'गतोऽस्तमर्को भातीन्दुः यान्ति वासाय पक्षिणः।
इत्येवमादिकं काव्यं वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते॥' इति"

Under X. 46, N.S. Edn.

In Bhaṭṭi, the word Svabhāvokti is absent. There is only Vārtā, which is illustrated by a natural description of a mountain. From this we concluded that Bhaṭṭi must be understood to hold according to writers whom Bhāmaha did not follow, that Vārtā was synonymous with Jāti and Svabhāvokti. But the Jayamaṅgalā is a close follower of Bhāmaha whose text alone it quotes. It explains Bhaṭṭi by Bhāmaha and naturally there is some difficulty. The Jayamaṅgalā starts with two definite ideas: 1. that Bhāmaha accepts an Alaṁkāra called Svabhāvokti and 2. that the verse on Vārtā is a verse on an Alaṁkāra called Vārtā, with an illustration in the first line. Hence, the Jayamaṅgalā reads the verse on Vārtā differently:

इत्येवमादिकं काव्यं वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते।

for

इत्येवमादि किं काव्यं वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते।

Having started with these two ideas, the Jayamaṅgalā has to indicate the difference between Vārtā and Svabhāvokti. It says ingeniously that there is one major Alaṁkāra called Vārtā which is saying of things in strict accordance to their natural state and that it has two subdivisions, Viśiṣṭa and Nirviśiṣṭa. The Viśiṣṭa Vārtā is called Svabhāvokti and the Nirviśiṣṭa vārtā is simply Vārtā. Bhaṭṭi's verse is an illustration of the former. From the Jayamaṅgalā's remarks, we see that by 'Viśiṣṭa', it means the description of one *particular* object with its *attributes*, and by 'Nirviśiṣṭa',

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for Mallinātha and of Atiśayokti (what a difference!) for the Jayamaṅgalā. If the Jayamaṅgalā sees Vārtā in X. 45 or 46, Mallinātha sees Atiśayokti there. In the case of some verses, Mallinātha does not point out any figure. And this difference between the commentators on Bhaṭṭi has not been pointed out by Mr. Kane or Dr. De.

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the description of a composite view of Nature; the former is illustrated by Bhaṭṭi's description of Mt. Mahendra with its attributes, and the latter by 'गतोऽस्तमर्कः etc.' [1]

But Bhāmaha kept Vārtā and Svabhāvokti separate. The latter, he refers to as an Alaṁkāra and illustrates. The former, he refers to with derision, as a name for insipid detailing of some facts, for expressions devoid of striking deviation. Closely following, as it does, his rejection of Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa which do not show any Vakratva, the verse does not seem to yield itself to the different reading and consequent different meaning which the Jayamaṅgalā gives it. That the verse mentioning Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa and the next verse speaking of 'गतोऽस्तमर्कः etc.' as mere Vārtā, go together is proved by a reference to Daṇḍin where Bhāmaha, II. 86-87 are taken together. Daṇḍin, in the Hetucakra, speaks of 'गतोऽस्तमर्कः etc.' as Jñāpaka Hetu Alaṁkāra and considers it as 'Uttamabhūṣaṇa' as if to spite him who referred to Hetu with Sūkṣma and Leśa as no Alaṁkāra at all.[2]

Thus I am of opinion that the word Vārtā in Bhāmaha is no name of an Alaṁkāra. Dr. De is of opinion that there is an Alaṁkāra called Vārtā which Bhāmaha mentions and rejects in the passage discussed above. On p. 36 of Vol. II of his poetics he says that in the second stage of the development of Alaṁkāras was added 'a seventh figure Vārtā which is referred to by Daṇḍin in I. 85 but which is not accepted by Bhāmaha'. On p. 109, *ibid.*, he says: 'With Bhāmaha, he (Daṇḍin) alludes to Vārtā (I. 85) which is illustrated by Bhaṭṭi, but which disappears from later poetics, being included perhaps in the scope of Svabhāvokti'. Mr. P. V. Kane also opines that in the passage discussed above, an Alaṁkāra called Vārtā is rejected by Bhāmaha. Such a view does not seem to be tenable. The Jayamaṅgalā which speaks of a Vārtālaṁkāra has a curious reading for the second line of Bhāmaha's verse. This reading itself does not agree with the context in Bhāmaha. If Bhāmaha is refuting an Alaṁkāra of some predecessor called Vārtā

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[1] Dr. S. K. De says (Skr. Poe., I. p. 53) that Bhaṭṭi does not recognize Svabhāvokti. We do not know that Bhaṭṭi recognized any Alaṁkāra. As Dr. De himself points out (p. 52), the Jayamaṅgalā is the guide to know what Bhaṭṭi recognized and illustrated. According to Mallinātha, X. 42 (or 43) अथ लक्षण etc. is Bhaṭṭi's illustration of Svabhāvokti; and in X. 45 (or 46) where the Jayamaṅgalā sees Vārtā, Mallinātha, sees Atiśayokti!

[2] From this we have to infer that some predecessor of Bhāmaha whom Bhāmaha criticises but whom Daṇḍin follows, gave the instance गतोऽस्तमर्कः etc. and held it as an Alaṁkāra called Hetu.

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in that verse, the verse must have been written otherwise. As it is, it must be taken as closely connected with the previous verse refuting Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa and must be taken to give an instance of an 'Abhidhāna samudāya', an expression as a whole, which has no Vakrokti (Vakroktyanabhidhāna); and hence a case of no Kāvya (इत्येवमादि किं काव्यम्?) but only a bald communication of facts (वार्तामेनां प्रचक्षते). It is clear that in Bhāmaha Vārtā is not used as the name of an Alaṁkāra. Nor has Vārtā the Alaṁkāra anything to do with the word Vārtā in Daṇḍin, p. 85, but of which more in the section on Daṇḍin.

Soon, finishing a few Alaṁkāras, Bhāmaha comes to Svabhāvokti:

स्वभावोक्तिरलङ्कार इति केचित्प्रचक्षते।
अर्थस्य तदवस्थत्वं स्वभावोऽभिहितो यथा॥
आक्रोशन्नाह्वयन्नन्यान् आधावन्मण्डलै रुदन् (or नुदन्)।
गा वारयति दण्डेन गोपः सस्यावतारिणीः॥ II. 93-94.

There is a discussion among scholars on the question: Did Bhāmaha accept Svabhāvokti as an Alaṁkāra? Some say that the somewhat indifferent reference to it in the words 'इति केचित्प्रचक्षते' shows that Bhāmaha did not accept it as an Alaṁkāra. As regards Bhāmaha's attitude towards Svabhāvokti, one Pūrvapakṣa is completely ruled out namely that it is not mentioned by him. Bhāmaha mentions, defines and illustrates it. In this respect, it resembles Āśis, III. 55-56. To begin with, Bhāmaha defining and illustrating Svabhāvokti are some proof of his acceptance of it as a figure. The figures which Bhāmaha does not accept are not referred to by him in such terms. If he does not accept a figure, he says नालङ्कारतया मतः। Witness the case of Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa. The words 'इति केचित्प्रचक्षते' is no argument for taking that Bhāmaha did not accept Svabhāvokti. Many Alaṁkāras are introduced in these terms. These words cannot serve as an argument even for the view that Svabhāvokti has a dubious existence in Bhāmaha. Dr. De sometimes speaks of Svabhāvokti as having a dubious existence in Bhāmaha though in Vol. II of his Poetics and in his Introduction to his edition of the Vakrokti jīvita, he views that Bhāmaha does not accept this figure. Dr. A. Sankaran opines in his Theories of Rasa and Dhvani (p. 22) that Bhāmaha does not accept this figure. Mr. D. T. Tatacharya Siromani has examined these views and replied to them in his M.O.L. essay on the Definition of Poetry, published in the J.O.R., Madras. Udbhaṭa

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and Kuntaka considered Bhāmāha as accepting Svabhāvokti. Udbhaṭa has enumerated and defined Svabhāvokti in the same order and place as in Bhāmaha. The 'ancients', cirantanas, who figure in Kuntaka's Pūrvapakṣa as accepting Svabhāvokti, include Bhāmaha. Bhoja who digests completely Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa gives Bhāmaha's illustration of Svabhāvokti in his treatment of that figure which shows that, according to Bhoja, Bhāmaha accepted that figure. If Kuntaka had the slightest hint that Bhāmaha did not accept this figure, he would have reinforced his critique against Svabhāvokti with a reference to Bhāmaha's text to that effect.

On p. 61 of Vol. II of his Poetics, Dr. De says: 'when words are used in the ordinary manner of common parlance, as people without a poetic turn of mind use them, there is no special charm or strikingness. Such Svabhāvokti or "natural" mode of speech to which Daṇḍin is so partial but which he also distinguishes from Vakrokti, is not acceptable to Bhāmaha and Kuntaka, who refuse to acknowledge it as a poetic figure at all.' One cannot point out any passage in Bhāmaha which refutes Svabhāvokti and it is wrong to club together Bhāmaha with Kuntaka who elaborately argues against Svabhāvokti, as can be seen in a further section. And there is nothing like partiality for Svabhāvokti in Daṇḍin. If one views Bhāmaha as being inimical to this figure, he imagines Daṇḍin to be overfond of it. Nor is the attribute 'आद्या अलङ्कृतिः' applied by Daṇḍin to Svabhāvokti a sign of his partiality for it. The attribute only means that in the field of poetic expression where Vakrokti rises gradually, Svabhāvokti stands first or at the bottom involving least Vakratā; it is the starting point; the ground for Vakrokti to come into further play.

Mr. Tatacharya has, it seems, committed an excess while trying to prove that Bhāmaha accepted Svabhāvokti. He says that when Bhāmaha said—

युक्तं वक्रस्वभावोक्त्या सर्वमेवैतदिष्यते । I. 39.

he meant like Daṇḍin to divide poetic expression into two realms, Vakrokti and Svabhāvokti; and Mr. Tatacharya puts a forced interpretation on 'Vakrasvabhāvoktyā' which does not mean वक्रोक्त्या and स्वभावोक्त्या but means only वक्रस्वरूप उक्त्या, the word Svabhāva here meaning 'of the nature of'. Consequently Mr. Tatacharya views that Bhāmaha also, like Daṇḍin, classified Vāṅmaya into two classes, Svabhāvokti and Vakrokti. 'As is shown above, in Bhāmaha's view, all the Alaṁkāras other than the one Svabhāvokti, are governed by the Vakrokti principle.' This is

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Daṇḍin's view,[1] not Bhāmaha's. To Bhāmaha, the absence of Vakratā or Vakrokti eliminates an expression from the fold of Alaṁkāra; it will not be Svabhāvokti but Vārtā,—not like आक्रोशन्नाह्वयन्, etc. but like गतोऽस्तमर्कः, etc. For Bhāmaha, Vakrokti is Alaṁkāra and Svabhāvokti also which has got its own degree of Vakratā marking it off from mere Vārtā is comprised in Vakrokti. Daṇḍin examined the realm of poetic speech with greater scrutiny and said that since in Svabhāvokti, the Vakratā is least, let it stand apart. And even to this Daṇḍin, the expression of Rasa, Rasa-ukti, is still part of Vakrokti and Bhoja therefore analyzed poetic expression into three parts, Svabhāvokti, Rasokti and Vakrokti.

Just as Bāṇa said that a Jāti should be Agrāmyā, Daṇḍin says that it should bring before our eyes the picture vividly. नानावस्थं पदार्थानां रूपं साक्षाद् विवृण्वती। II. 8. 'प्रत्यक्षमिव दर्शयन्ती' says Taruṇavācaspati, while the Hṛdayaṁgamā which says 'साक्षादव्याजेन विवृण्वती' emphasizes that no artificial aid of a figurative flourish shall be used here. As previously indicated, Daṇḍin gives four classes of Svabhāvokti, Jāti, Kriyā, Guṇa and Dravya, II. 13. Bhoja (S.K.Ā., III. 6–8) multiplies the classes,—Svarūpa, Samsthāna, Avasthāna, Veṣa, Vyāpāra, etc.; child, maiden, animal; time, place, etc.,—elaborations borrowed by him from Rudrata.[2]

What about Vārtā in Daṇḍin? It is not found in the context of Svabhāvokti nor anywhere in Ch. II. We find it in Ch. I. in Daṇḍin's treatment of the Guṇa called Kānti, I. 85–87.

कान्तं सर्वजगत्कान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमात्।

तच्च वार्ताभिधानेषु वर्णनास्वपि दृश्यते॥

Kānti has a certain amount of kinship with Svabhāvokti, since in both, there is no perceptible stepping out of the normal mode of saying, Laukikārtha-anatikrama. Such Kānti, Daṇḍin says, is found in Vārtābhidhāna and Varṇanā and illustrates Vārtābhidhāna with the following verse:

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[1] K.Ā., II. 362. Madras Edn.

[2] The anonymous gloss on the Kāvyadarśa in the N.S. Edn. has a strange comment on 'नानावस्थं' in Daṇḍin's definition of the Svabhāvokti. It says that, according to some who base themselves on this condition of 'Nānāvastha', only a description of an object in *several states* or of several objects in *several states*, constitutes a Svabhāvokti, and not the description of an object in a *single* state! This too literal an interpretation of Daṇḍin is not justifiable.

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गृह्णाति नाम तान्येव तपोराशिर्भवादृशः ।
सम्भावयति यान्येवं पावनैः पादपांसुभिः ॥ I. 86.

The Gaudī style which would not be context with this expression with Kānti, would say: देव धिष्ण्यमिवाराध्यम्, etc. This Vārtā is a sweet complement or word of welcome or enquiry on the occasion of the arrival of a worthy guest. It is thus clear that Vārtā here is not any Alaṁkāra, nor the Alaṁkāra which the Jayamangalā says Bhaṭṭi is illustrating. Such is the view of the commentators and later writers also, none of whom see reference to any Alaṁkāra in the Vārtā here. "वार्ता नाम अन्योन्यकथनम्" says the Hṛdayaṁgamā. Hemacandra, while reviewing the old Guṇas in his gloss on his own K. Anuśāsana, refers to Daṇḍin's Kānti in Vārtā and Varṇanā and interprets Vārtā as a 'complement' "तत्र उपचारवचनं वार्ता। प्रशंसावचनं वर्णना" p. 200, K.A. Śingabhūpāla also says that Vārtā is a welfare-enquiry: वार्ता नाम कुशलप्रश्नपूर्विका सङ्कथा। p. 67, T.S.S. Edn. Ratneśvara's gloss on S.K.Ā., I. p. 114: 'अनामये प्रियालापे वार्तं वार्ता च कीर्त्यते।'[1]

Rudraṭa classifies the Athālaṁkāras into four classes, Vāstava, Aupamya, Atiśaya and Śleṣa. All the three here except the first involve an embellishment by a simile or an exaggeration or a play on the words. In Vāstava, we have the bare idea as it is, untwisted, Aviparīta; but even as Bāṇa said 'Agrāmya', Rudraṭa says, 'Puṣṭārtha'. Apuṣṭa, the bald statement, comes under the Doṣas.

वास्तवमिति तज्ज्ञेयं क्रियते वस्तुस्वरूपकथनं यत् ।
पुष्टार्थं अविपरीतं निरुपमं अनतिशयं अश्लेषम् ॥ K. A. VII. 10.

Namisādhu: पुष्टार्थग्रहणं अपुष्टार्थनिवृत्त्यर्थम्। तेन—

'गोरपत्यं बलीवर्दः तृणान्यत्ति मुखेन सः।
मूत्रं मुञ्चति शिश्नेन अपानेन तु गोमयम् ॥' अस्य वास्तवत्वं न भवति।

To this class of Vāstava figures, Rudraṭa assigns Sahokti, Samuccaya, *Jāti*, Yathāsaṁkhya, Bhāva, Paryāya, Viṣama, Anumāna, Dīpaka, Parikara, Parivṛtti, Parisaṁkhyā, Hetu, Kāraṇamālā, Vyatireka, Anyonya, Uttara, Sāra, Sūkṣma, Leśa,

[1] Cf. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar's gloss on the Kāvyādarśa: "वार्ता अनामयप्रियालापः। 'अनामयप्रियालापः इत्तिः वार्ता च कथ्यते' इति वचनात्।" Here is mentioned another meaning also of Vārtā as 'इतिहासवर्णन' which is not satisfactory. But none has taken Daṇḍin's Vārtā here as the name of an Alaṁkāra.

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Avasara, Mīlita and Ekāvalī. Of these Jāti is Vāstava par excellence. In VII, 30-31, Rudraṭa speaks of the several varieties of Jāti, Form, Pose, etc., and subjects for Jāti like children, maidens, etc. as already mentioned. There is one point in Namisadhu's gloss on Jāti in Rudraṭa which is worth noticing. He says that whereas Vāstava means only a statement of a thing as it is, Jāti implies a vivid picture that can create an experience, an Anubhava, of the thing in the mind. जातिस्तु अनुभवं जनयति। यत्र परस्यं स्वरूपं वर्ण्यमानमेव अनुभवमिवैतीति स्थितम्। This is the significance of the qualification to Jāti which writers add, Agrāmya, Cāru, Puṣṭa and so on.

Udbhaṭa recognizes Svabhāvokti and gives it with a definition and illustration in the third Varga:

क्रियायां संप्रवृत्तस्य हेवाकानां निबन्धनम्।
कस्यचिन्मृगडिम्भादेः स्वभावोक्तिरुदाहृता॥
च्छगं नष्टार्धवलितः पृष्ठक्ष्वेणाग्रे च्छगं नुदन्।
लोलीकरोति प्रणयाद् इमामेष मृगार्भकः॥ III. 8, 9.

What must be noted in Udbhaṭa's treatment of Svabhāvokti is his unwarranted restriction of the scope of Svabhāvokti to the Hevāka, eagerness or fondness, in their respective activities of young ones of animals and the like. Neither to one class of beings like young ones of animals nor to one aspect only viz., action, Kriyā, can Svabhāvokti be restricted. The commentary on Udbhaṭa's K.A.S.S. published in the GOS. as Tilaka's, definitely says that a description of the nature of things as such is not Svabhāvokti but only the 'Hevāka' of Bālamṛga and the like in their activities: व्यापारप्रवृत्तस्य बालमृगादेः समुचितहेवाकनिबन्धनं स्वभावोक्तिः। न तु स्वभावमात्रकथनम्। But, fortunately, Pratīhārendurāja liberally interprets Hevāka and enlarges the scope of this figure to its normal extent.

Bhoja's treatment of Svabhāvokti has something noteworthy, both in his Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharana (S.K.Ā.) and the Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa (Śṛ. Pra.). The S.K.Ā. says in III. 4-5:

नानावस्थासु जायन्ते यानि रूपाणि वस्तुनः।
खेभ्यः खेभ्यो निसर्गेभ्यः तानि जातिं प्रचक्षते॥
अर्थव्यक्तेरियं भेदं इयता प्रतिपद्यते।
जायमानप्रि(नमि)[1] यं वक्ति रूपं सा सार्वकालिकम्॥

[1] For this correct reading, see Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's gloss on the Kāvyaprakāśa T.S.S. Edn.

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Characteristics which are born in things in their several states and which, by nature, pertain to them, form the subject of Jāti. By the second qualification that the characteristics shall pertain to the things by nature,—'स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यो निसर्गेभ्यः'—Bhoja, as explained by Ratneśvara, excludes external associations like reminiscences, reflections, etc., on seeing the objects.[1] The first qualification is fully explained in the second verse from which we learn that it is intended to keep distinct the Alaṁkāra Svabhāvokti and the Guṇa Arthavyakti. This question takes us to Vāmana's Arthaguṇa Arthavyakti in the definition of which Vāmana uses the word Vastusvabhāva and whose two illustrations are simply two cases of Svabhāvokti. (K.A. Sū. III. ii, 13). वस्तुस्वभावस्फुटत्वमर्थव्यक्तिः। वस्तूनां भावानां स्वभावस्य स्फुटत्वं यत्, असौ अर्थव्यक्तिः। It is clear from this that either Arthavyakti or Svabhāvokti does not obviate the need for the other; nor is there any need to point out how the two do not overlap. It is rather illogical to distinguish two things of two different classes, one a Guṇa and another an Alaṁkāra. This Arthavyakti of Vāmana is a quality pertaining to the Alaṁkāra called Svabhāvokti, and to other kinds of expressions also.[2] Still Bhoja tries to show us the difference between Arthavyakti and Svabhāvokti. He says that in Arthavyakti only those aspects of an object are presented which form its permanent distinguishing attributes, Sārvakālikam rūpam, whereas in Svabhāvokti those aspects which are manifest as a result of a particular mood or situation, Avasthāsu jāyamānam rūpam, are presented. This latter is, as contrasted with the Sārvakālika svarūpa, an Āgantuka svarūpa. Says Ratneśvara: 'वस्तुस्वरूपोल्लेखनार्थं (र्थं) व्यक्तिः अर्थगुणेषु उक्ता। तत्र सार्वकालिकं रूपं उपजनापायान्तरालव्यापकमित्यर्थः। अत्र तु जायमानमागन्तुकनिमित्तं समवधानप्रभवं व्यभिचरितमित्यर्थः'। This is an unnecessary distinction which brings in its train an unwarranted restriction of the scope of Svabhāvokti to 'special states'. Bhoja here resembles those who dragged down the

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[1] नन्वेवं 'य एते यज्वानः + + विलसति मृदेषा भगवती' इत्यादावपि जातित्वं स्यादत आह—स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्य इति। स्वभावभूतानीत्यर्थः। Ratnesvara.

[2] Mammaṭa rightly realises Arthavyakti to be a quality pre-eminently necessary for all good poetry and gives its scope as embracing not only Svabhāvokti but cases of Rasadhvani, etc. also. See Ch. 8, p. 187. T.S.S. Edn. of the Kāvya Prakāśa. When Hemacandra says Vāmana's Arthavyakti guṇa is needless, because it is nothing but the Alaṁkāra named Jāti, he is not making a proper criticism. (अपि च जातिर्नामायमलङ्कार इति p. 199). Cf. Bhaṭṭa Gopāla—वामनमर्यादया तु अर्थव्यक्त्या स्वभावोक्त्यपलापः। p. 187 T.S.S. Edn.

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Prabandha Guṇa Bhāvika to the state of Vākyālaṁkāra and then began propounding its difference from Svabhāvokti.

The Agnipurāṇa which draws upon Bhoja to a great extent,[1] borrows this classification of the nature of a thing into Sārvakālika and Āgantuka or Jāyamāna. The Agnipurāṇa calls Svabhāvokti by the name Svarūpālaṁkāra. (Ch. 344). स्वरूपमथ सादृश्यं उत्प्रेक्षातिशयावपि । It defines the figure thus:

स्वभाव एव भावानां स्वरूपमभिधीयते ।
निजमागन्तुकं चेति द्विविधं तदुदाहृतम् ॥
सांसिद्धिकं निजं नैमित्तिकमागन्तुकं तथा ।

From its stopping with this and saying no more, we have to conclude that the Agnipurāṇa would have Svabhāvokti in both cases unlike Bhoja who would have Arthavyakti in the former case.

Besides reproducing what he said in the S.K.Ā. on Svabhāvokti or Jāti, Bhoja gives an additional idea in his Śṛ. Prakāśa. As indicated once previously, he carries out to its scientific length the classification in Daṇḍin of poetic expression into Svabhāvokti and Vakrokti. He separates the Rasas from Vakrokti's fold and constitutes them into the third class called Rasokti. While doing so, he defines each of these three as expression dominated respectively by *Guṇa*, Upamā and other Alaṁkāras, and Rasa.

"तत्र उपमाद्यलङ्कारप्राधान्ये वक्रोक्तिः । सोऽपि गुणप्राधान्ये स्वभावोक्तिः । विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद् रसनिष्पत्तौ रसोक्तिरिति ।" Śṛ. Pra., Madras MS., Vol. II. ch. xi, p. 372. This is just hinted in the fifth ch. of the S.K.Ā., where Bhoja says:

वक्रोक्तिश्च रसोक्तिश्च स्वभावोक्तिश्च वाङ्मयम् ।
सर्वासु ग्राहिणीं तासु रसोक्तिं प्रतिजानते ॥ V. 8.

The idea in defining in the Śṛ. Pra. Svabhāvokti as expression dominated by the Guṇas is that when there is none of the figures beginning with Upamā, the only thing the expression possesses is the Guṇas. This has been explained at length in the present writer's thesis on Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra., being printed elsewhere.

Bahurūpamiśra accepts this three-fold classification of poetic expression in his commentary on the Daśarūpaka which the present writer has reviewed in detail in JOR., Vol. VIII. p. 325.

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[1] For other ideas in the Agnipurāṇa taken from Bhoja, see the present writer's Rīti and Guṇa in the Agnipurāṇa in the IHQ. Vol. X. pp. 767–779.

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The anonymous Sāhityamīmāmsā, now edited in a very unsatisfactory manner in the T.S.S. (No. 114), is a work based on Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra. which it reproduces extensively. It gives Bhoja's classification of Kāvya-ukti into these three classes of Svabhāva, Vakra and Rasa Uktis; only it calls Svabhāvokti, Ṛjūkti (p. 99). It reproduces also the S.K.Ā. verse on the difference between Svabhāvokti and Arthavyakti.

In connection with Mammaṭa's treatment of Svabhāvokti, the only interesting point to which attention can be drawn is Vidyā-cakravarttin's rather incorrect understanding and consequent needless criticism of the Sāndhivigrahika i.e., Viśvanātha, a point which the present writer has already set forth at some length in a note in the Annals of the B.O.R.I., Vol. XIV. pp. 251 and 254.

In the history of the concept of Svabhāvokti, the names of Kuntaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa stand out prominently. The former denies that it is an Alaṁkāra and the latter comes out with an eloquent defence of it as an Alaṁkāra. Kuntaka must be put down as a follower of Bhāmaha with this difference that while for Bhāmaha, Svabhāvokti is comprehended as a variety of Alaṁkāra in Vakrokti, for Kuntaka, Svabhāvokti is not to be called an Alaṁkāra or a species of Vakrokti because it is the very nature of the idea which forms the material for the further employment of Vakrokti. That is, Kuntaka considers Svabhāvokti as the Alaṁkārya, i.e., the kāvya Śarīra and if it is itself called Alaṁkāra, it will be an impossible case of Alaṁkāra decorating itself, as impossible as one mounting one's own shoulders. Kuntaka is not behind anybody in his appreciation of verses of unembellished grace, but in all those cases he would say that the subject or idea itself, the Vastu, has an innate Saundarya or Vakratā. Cases which are Svabhāvokti for others would be cases of Vastu vakratā for Kuntaka. But Vastu which has Vakratā is different from ordinary Vastu devoid of Vakrata, as in ordinary talk. Does not this distinguishing Vakratā which separates Loka vastu and Kāvya vastu amount to Alaṁkāra? It may not be so much Vicchitti as is found in other species of Vakrokti but yet it is some Vicchitti and as such is Alaṁkāra; and it does not pertain ordinarily to all instances; only poets are able to say things with that Vastu vakratā. And Vakratā is Vakrokti. To this Kuntaka would reply that as far as poetry is concerned, only such Vastu as has beauty is relevant; the bald Vastu is out of the scope of the discussion. But, if on the score of this Vakratā, one would call a Svabhāvākhyāna as Svabhāvokti Alaṁkāra, Kuntaka would seem to yield a little that there is after all only a dispute in names.

यदि वा प्रस्तौचित्यमाहात्म्यान्मुख्यतया भावस्वभावः सातिशयत्वेन वर्ण्यमानः स्वमहिम्ना

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भूषणान्तरासहिष्णुः स्वयमेव श्लोभातिशयग्रालित्वात् अलङ्कार्योऽपि अलङ्करणमित्यभिधीयते, तदयमस्माकीन एव पक्षः।[1] V. J. p. 139.

In the second Vimarśa of his Vyaktiviveka, Mahimabhaṭṭa speaks of five flaws the last of which is Vācya-avacana under which he treats of a closely related flaw, Avācya vacana, the putting in of what ought not to be put in. Attributes which do not add to the significance or words which do not heighten or aspects of things which are commonplace and are devoid of any charm—these if expressed form the flaw of Avācya vacana. Sometimes when a poet nods, when lesser writers have got to fill in parts of the metrical line, such things get in. These Mahimā calls 'Apratibhodbhava', born of a mind lacking Imagination and Inspiration. These are the 'dust' that must be swept out of poetry, 'Avakara' as Mahimā calls them.

यत्स्वरूपानुवादैकफलं फल्गु विशेषणम्।
अप्रत्यक्षायमाणार्थं स्मृतमप्रतिभोद्भवम्॥
तदवाच्यमिति ज्ञेयं वचनं तस्य दूषणम्।
तद् वृत्तपूरणायैव न कवित्वाय कल्पते॥

II. p. 107. V. V. T.S.S. Edn.

This topic directly leads Mahimabhaṭṭa to an examination of Svabhāvokti Alaṁkāra. When a poet describes a thing as it is he must not present us with the well-known and commonplace aspects of things, a description of which does not make the picture live before our eyes, अप्रत्यक्षायमाणार्थं. Thus a case of Svabhāvokti is most liable to the flaw of Avācya vacana described in the terms स्वरूपानुवादैकफल, फल्गु and अप्रत्यक्षायमाणार्थं. Hence did Bāṇa qualify Jāti by Agrāmyatva and Rudraṭa by Puṣṭārthatva.[2] One must be a poet of imagination and inspiration to write a real Svabhāvokti with power to live before our mind's eye. In I.

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[1] Some other minor objections are also pointed out by Kuntaka. He asks that if Vastusvabhāva itself is Alaṁkāra, what then shall an Alaṁkāra adorn and adds that if Vastusvabhāva itself is one Alaṁkāra, every case of another Alaṁkāra will be a case of Saṁkara or Samsṛṣṭi (V.J., pp. 24-25).

[2] A bald statement comes under an Arthadoṣa, called Apuṣṭa, Niralaṁkāra and so on.

वस्तुमात्रानुवादस्तु पूरणैक फलो मतः। अर्थदोषस्तु दोषज्ञैः अपुष्ट इति गीयते॥

V. V., p. 109. See also Bhoja's S.K.Ā., pp. 30, 37 and 38 and Ratneśvaras' com. there.

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12, p. 23, Kuntaka said that nothing can be talked of without reference to its Svabhāva or nature, and that there can be no case of expression devoid of Svabhāva-delineation; for no object is conceivable without its nature and attributes.

स्वभावव्यतिरेकेण वक्तुमेव न युज्यते ।
वस्तु तद्रहितं यस्मान् निरुपाख्यं प्रसज्यते ॥ V. J. I. 12.

A statement of this unavoidable Svabhāva cannot be an Alaṁkāra. With reference to this Mahimā says:

कथं तर्हि स्वभावोक्तेरलङ्कारत्वमिष्यते ।
न हि स्वभावमात्रोक्तौ विशेषः कश्चनानयोः ॥
उच्यते वस्तुनस्तावद् द्वैरूप्यमिह विद्यते ।
तत्रैकमत्र(स्य)[1] सामान्यं यद्विकल्पैकगोचरः ॥
स एव सर्वशब्दानां विषयः परिकीर्तितः ।
अत एवाभिधेयं ते श्या(ध्या[2])मलं बोधयन्त्यलम् ॥
विशिष्टमस्य यद्रूपं तत् प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरः ।
स एव सत्कविगिरां गोचरः प्रतिभाभुवाम् ॥

यतः—रसानुगुणशब्दार्थचिन्तास्तिमितचेतसः ।
क्षणं स्वरूपस्पर्शोत्था (or चिन्तोत्था) प्रज्ञैव प्रतिभा कवेः ॥
सा हि चक्षुर्भगवतः तृतीयमिति गीयते ।
येन साक्षात्करोत्येष भावांस्त्रैकाल्यवर्तिनः ॥
इत्यादि प्रतिभातत्त्वं अस्माभिरुपपादितम् ।
शास्त्रे तत्त्वोक्तिकोशाख्ये इति नेह प्रपञ्चितम् ॥
अर्थ (अस्य)[3] स्वभावस्योक्तिर्या सालङ्कारतया मता ।
यतः साक्षादिवाभान्ति तत्रार्थाः प्रतिभार्पिताः ॥ p. 108.

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[1] This correct reading अस्य is found in the 'different readings' given at the end of the T.S.S. Edn. of the V. V., and is found also in Hemacandra who reproduces these verses on p. 275, of his K.A. vyā.

[2] See Hemacandra for the correct word 'Dhyāmala', meaning 'impure, tainted'.

[3] See Hemacandra.

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सामान्यस्तु स्वभावो यः सोऽन्यालङ्कार(सोऽनलङ्कार)[1]गोचरः ।
श्लिष्टमर्थमलङ्कर्तुमन्यथा को हि मुह्यति ॥
वस्तुमात्रानुवादस्तु पूरणैकफलो मतः ।
[2]अर्थदोषस्य दोषज्ञैरपुष्ट इति गीयते ॥ p. 109. V. V. T.s.s. Edn.

The commentary on the V.V. does not extend to this section but the following extracts will serve to show how Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra understood the above verses of Mahimabhaṭṭa :

कविप्रतिभया निर्विकल्पकप्रत्यक्षकल्पया विषयीकृता वस्तुस्वभावा यत्रोपवर्ण्यन्ते स जातेर्विषयः । एवं च—

'अलङ्कारकृतां येषां स्वभावोक्तिरलङ्कृतिः ।
अलङ्कार्यतया तेषां किमन्यदवशिष्यते ॥' (Kuntaka)

इति यत्कैश्चित्प्रतिपादितं, तन्निरस्तमेव । वस्तुनो हि सामान्यस्वभावो लौकिकोऽर्थोऽलङ्कार्यः । कविप्रतिभासंरंभविशेषविषयस्तु लोकोत्तरार्थोऽलङ्करणमिति । तथा चाह— (quotation of the above verses from Mahimā)'. Hemacandra, p. 275, com.—

"इह वस्तुस्वभाववर्णनमात्रं नालङ्कारः । तत्त्वे सर्वं काव्यं अलङ्कारः स्यात् । तस्मात् सामान्यस्वभावो लौकिकोऽर्थोऽलङ्कार्यः । कविप्रतिभागोचरस्य तु अत एव तन्निमित्तस्य स्वभावस्य उक्तिः अलङ्कारः । p. 403, Mysore Edn., Māṇikyacandra's gloss on the K. Prakaśa.

It is accepted by logicians that in one's apprehension of an object there are really two kinds of awareness, one of the object itself as such and another of the object as possessing a name and as belonging to a class. Perception is thus indeterminate and determinate, Nirvikalpaka and Savikalpaka. *Somewhat* similar to this, there are the two apprehensions of an object by an ordinary man and a poet endowed with penetrating imagination. The former sees what is but the common nature, Sāmānyarūpa, of an object; the expression which he uses in communicating about that object communicates only the ordinary nature of the object. But the imaginative eye of the poet which is like a Yogin's vision or a divine third eye, sees a special aspect of the thing, not with reference to its common nature, but details whose presentation reveal a wondrous

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[1] Hemacandra also reads incorrectly 'Anyalaṁkāra'.
[2] This half is missing in the T.S.S. Edn. and is supplied here from Hemacandra.

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picture of it.[1] If we understand Mahimabhaṭṭa's Sāmānya and Viśeṣa Svabhāva's in such a general sort of manner, his verses do not offer any problem for interpretation. The commonplace Svabhāva of thing will be the scientific facts about an object, its attributes as pertaining to a class; a bald statement of these as in गोरपत्यं बलीवर्दः, etc. would not constitute Svabhavokti Alaṁkāra; this ordinary nature of the thing is the fact available in the world and forms the material for the play of the poet's imagination and fancy; it is the Alaṁkārya. The striking and special aspect of the thing, its Viśiṣṭa Svabhāva, which the poet's eye alone sees and his imagination alone embodies in words of poetry, is the object of Svabhāvokti Alaṁkaraṇa. In as much as this Viśiṣṭa Svabhāva is not 'Siddha', but is 'Sādhyamāna' through the play of the poet's Pratibhā, it is Alaṁkāra. The drab matter of fact Svabhāva is out of the scope of any Alaṁkāra. Hence did the previous writers also insist on Jāti being Agrāmya, Puṣṭa,[2] Cāru and so on. Ruyyaka calls this Sūkṣma svabhāva and Vidyādhara, Uccais svabhāva. Kuntaka would, however, reply that he is still unanswered; for, to him, it is the Viśiṣṭa svabhāva that forms the Kāvya śarīra and the other Svabhāva is out of account in a discussion in poetics.

अनुत्कृष्टधर्मयुक्तस्य वर्णनीयस्य अलङ्करणमप्यसमुचितभित्तिभागोल्लिखितालेख्यवत् । न शोभातिशयकारितामावहति । यस्मादत्यन्तरमणीयस्वाभाविकधर्मयुक्तं वर्णनीयवस्तुपरिग्रहणीयम् ' V.J. III., p. 135.

Artha in Kāvya is, by necessity, Sundara: अर्थः सहृदयाह्लादकारिस्वस्पन्दसुन्दरः । I. 6, V.J. The Viśiṣṭa Svabhāva varṇanā is a case of the Vastu itself having the requisite Vakratā. But to others, as has already been said, this Vakratā which is surely a result of the poet's power and is not something existing there already, is reason enough to call the case an Alaṁkāra.

Ruyyaka has something special to contribute to the study of Svabhāvokti. He has touched an aspect of the question not dealt with by others. It is his distinction of Svabhāvokti and Bhāvika. It is, however, a question which cannot be gone into fully except after

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[1] Strictly speaking, a poet's apprehension of a thing cannot be called Nirvikalpaka Pratyakṣa, nor can it be said that the Viśiṣṭa Svarūpa which alone the Svabhāvokti presents is devoid of Jātidharma, i.e., Sāmānya in its technical sense.

[2] Cf. Apuṣṭa doṣa and Niralaṁkāra doṣa (in cases where the Sāmānya Svabhāva is given) in the Doṣa prakaraṇa of the books.

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a survey of the history of the concept of Bhāvika from the beginning and for this reason is reserved by the present writer for a special paper on Bhāvika.[1]

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[1] The paper on Bhāvika will appear in the IHQ.

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THE BEḌARS IN MARĀṬHA TIMES

By R. N. SALETORE

The presence of wild tribes has always been an element of considerable importance in the field of Indian History from the times of Kauṭalya to the extinction of the Marāṭha Empire in A.D. 1818 or rather till their complete destruction as a political factor about the year A.D. 1858.[1] During the Marāṭha period of sovereignty, the most important wild tribes deserving special treatment are the Beḍars or the Bēraḍs as they are styled in Marāṭha documents, the Mīnās, the Ghāsias, the Bhīls and the Koḷis.

The Beḍars in Politics

Among these, the Beḍars played a very important part in the politics of Southern India from very early times.[2] When the Marāṭha armies commenced to raise the standards of the Peshwās through the length and breadth of India, the Bēḍars like the Mīnās in Central India, or the Bhils in Khandesh, began to make the best of this opportunity, for they too began to accompany the Marāṭha forces. As Manucci relates with them 'marched privileged and recognized thieves called Beḍeria (Bīḍāri) who were the first to invade the enemy's territory' where they plundered everything they found, reserving the handsomest for their general, and selling, on their account, the rest.[3] Reference to this very purpose is made in a contemporary Marāṭha ballad, in which Marāṭha generals are recorded to have employed the Beḍars just like the Piṇḍāris or the Mīnās about the same period.[4] It is no wonder that these Beḍars were permitted to hang on the Marāṭha forces, for they appear to have been extremely agile horsemen. This has been well borne out by Manucci, who says: 'They say that the inhabitants of this country (*Maisur*) are so active that, when the horsemen are passing through their forests, they come out rapidly and placing their hands on the horse's quarters, spring up behind and cut off the rider's nose with a sort of half moon in iron that they carry. By this feat

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[1] Cf. B. A. Saletore, *The Wild Tribes in Indian History* (1935).

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. iv, pp. 60–96.

[3] Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 459 ; Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 87-88, Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[4] Sane, *Patre Yādi Vagairē*, pp. 55-56. *'Beḍadyāsi hükum taka raste band karūn'*.

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so much fear was established in the Mogul army that no one was so bold as to advance until the musketeers had fired'.[1]

These Beḍars were also employed in the forces of the Moghuls. Manucci records that Prince Shah Alam, when he was within the territories of Śivāji, had in his army seven thousand Beḍars who were ordered to ravage the lands of the '*Bardes*'.[2] In A.D. 1687 Khanzad Khan was sent by the emperor Aurangzib, after the conquest of Bijapur, to reduce the fort of Sagger (Sāgar) between Kulbarga and Bijapur, which was then in the possession of Pīd Nāyaka, a chief of the Beḍars, whom Grant Duff calls 'a caste of people in the Carnatic precisely similar to the Ramossees of Maharastra'.[3]

The Beḍars of Wāgingere.

This Beḍar chief could muster twelve thousand men (infantry) chiefly of his own tribe. His fort was situated among the hills and jungles which were extremely difficult of access, but owing to the 'dread of the Moghul name', he surrendered to the Moghuls on the 28th of November 1686 A.D. As Aurangzib invariably bestowed

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[1] Manucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 99-100, also, see pp. 460-61.

Note.—Cf. J. H. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies* (1766 ed.), p. 247, wherein he refers to this 'particular dexterity in cutting off noses'. There are frequent references to this practice of cutting of noses in the *Āpratimavīra Carita*, pp. 38, 144, 147, *Cikkadeva Rāya Vamśāvaḷi*, pp. 15, 49, 50, 62, 64, 67. There seems to survive a tradition that when Ranadullah Khan, a Bijapur general, was repulsed from Seringapatam, all his forces had their noses cut off. This practice is described in a Fort St. George Resolution of January, A.D. 1679, in which is described even the cutting 'half-moon of iron' instrument, cf. Wheeler, '*Madras*', I, p. 104. The upper lip appears to have been removed along with the nose. This barbaric custom was employed even in warfare. In the Mysore campaign of A.D. 1659 against Madura, it is claimed that under 'direct orders of the Raja of Maisur the invaders had cut off the noses of all their prisoners and sent them in sacks to Seringapatam as glorious trophies', J. H. Nelson, *Madura*, Pt. III, p. 139. This campaign was known as the 'Hunt for Noses'! Shortly afterwards a counter invasion of Mysore is stated to have been undertaken by Kumar Murti, a younger brother of Tirumala Nayaka of Madura. This effort being crowned with complete success, the King of Mysore, was captured, his nose cut off and sent to Madura. Madras Dt. Gazetteers, *Trichinopoly*, 1907, I, p. 55. All these accounts are evidently traditional and have no real basis in history. Another recent writer, Muhammad Rafi, in his work *Akbarat-ul-Hind*, British Museum Oriental MSS., No. 1726, fol. 522(*b*) declares that to the south of Cennapattana (Madras), once ruled over by a Kānti Rāma, there exists an ancient temple to whose idol the most acceptable offering is one of men's noses. Hired soldiers are claimed to have been employed to collect noses by attacking travellers. Hyder 'Naik' of Mysore is said to have adopted the cutting of noses as a regular punishment, the mutilated culprits being formed into a regiment by themselves. Manucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 460-61.

[2] Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 459. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[3] Grant Duff, *A History of the Marāṭhas*, I, pp. 264-265.

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great honours on those who unresistingly acknowledged his authority, this Beḍar Nāyaka, to the great amusement of the Moghul Emperor's courtiers, was raised to the rank of a commander of five thousand in the Moghul service. He hardly survived these honours for a few days [1] and his son Pem Nāyaka (Pemma Nāyaka?) 'finding himself uncomfortable in the splendour of his situation' withdrew into the woods.

This Pem Nāyaka, collecting a band of his Beḍars, took up his abode at Wāgingere, a walled village near Sāgar, where, by plunder and robbery, he gradually added to his numbers and in less than twenty years became a formidable obstacle to the Moghul empire.[2] The depredations of the Nāyaka of Wāgingere became at last so troublesome that an army under Prince Kaum Baksh and Ruh-ullah Khan was ordered to destroy this town, but they were obliged to besiege it, having come ill-prepared to overcome the defence that was maintained against them.[3] In A.D. 1693 the prince was directed to leave Ruh-ullah Khan at Wāgingere, the siege of which was abandoned afterwards and he was directed to move on the route to Gingi, where he was joined by Asad Khan with a large army.[4] Nevertheless Pemma Nāyaka, although repeatedly compelled by the Imperial generals to pay heavy fines, no sooner saw the Moghul troops retire to distance in A.D. 1705 than he recommenced 'every species of rapine'. During this period the Marāṭhās maintained a good understanding with this Beḍar chief and Dhanāji Jādhav, a general of Śivāji, while Aurangzib was besieging the forts in the Sahyādri mountains, lodged his family at Wāgingere in the charge of this chieftain, as this place afforded him greater security than any other. The power of the Nāyaka had by this time become so formidable, that Aurangzib, after his arrival at Bijapur, considered it necessary to proceed against him in person in A.D. 1705.[5]

Now Wāgingere though merely a fortified place, withstood the siege for many months, for Pemma Nāyaka, 'assisted and encouraged by Śivāji' defended himself resolutely and drove back the Moghul advance posts, while Dhanāji Jādhav, constantly harassed their

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[1] Meadows Taylor, *The Story of My Life*, Taylor writes: 'The Bēyḍūr chief of Wāgingere, however, resisted the Emperor for some time, and refused to come to his court, though very earnestly and cordially entreated to do so. At length he consented; but being jeered and insulted he returned to his fastness more determined than ever to rebel', p. 225. But Muhammadan chroniclers and Grant Duff agree in saying that he died within a short time (5 days:—Sarkar) Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 388: Duff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285.

[2] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 285 also Sarkar, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 219-20.

[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[4] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 287; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20.

[5] Firishta-Scott, *History of the Deccan*, II, pp. 115–120.

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camp. At last the Emperor, attacking this Beḍar stronghold for a second time, was repulsed and it was not until after a siege of seven months that this stronghold was eventually stormed with the aid of an army from the south under general Zulficar Khan. During this critical period a force of five to six hundred horse under Dhanāji Jādhav and Hindu Rāo arrived at Wāgingere to support their Beḍar allies. These Marāṭha generals at first removed their families from thence to a place of safety, as they were convinced about the capitulation of this fort. Though Pemma Nāyaka had promised his Marāṭha allies daily subsidies of 'several thousand rupees as long as they assisted him in the defence of his capital', they suggested to him to sue for peace with Aurangzib. Pemma Nāyaka, however, continued his subsidies to the Marāṭhās who, hovering in the neighbourhood of Wāgingere, made constant sorties on the Moghuls.[1]

The Beḍars of Śūrapura

Driven from his fastnesses of Wāgingere, Pemma Nāyaka, selected the secluded spot of Śorāpūr[2] or Śūrapurā, the City of Valour. Here he was allowed by the Moghuls to live in peace and eventually became friends with the Emperor Aurangzib who bestowed on him titles, created him a 'Commander of Five Thousand', conferred on him a large addition to his territory, confirming all grants by the Bijapur monarchy and also extended his collection of revenue over a great portion of the 'Carnatic' and the Deccan.[3]

The nephew and adopted heir of Pem Nāyaka, Pidia Nāyaka, outwardly conducting himself as a loyal subject and paying revenue to the Emperor, fled after the fall of Wāgingere. In A.D. 1706 with the help of Hindu Rāo, the brother of Śāntā Ghōrpaḍē, he captured Penukonḍa,[4] and Allūr, 28 miles from Kulburga, but Tarbiyat Khan recovered the latter.[4] About the same year Pidia Nāyaka was chased from his fastnesses by Saraf Khan and Jagia (Jaggayya?) who had been loyal to the Imperial cause, was rewarded. Nevertheless in the following war between Dhanāji Jādhav and Hindu Rāo, Pidia Nāyaka, deserting his ally Hindu Rāo, joined Dhanāji in their attack on Sindūr.[5]

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[1] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 388-89, *ibid.*, V, pp. 218–28.

[2] Shorapur is situated in the S. W. corner of the Hyderabad territory and since A.D. 1860 has formed an integral part of the Nizam's dominions: lat. 16° 31′N. long 76° 48′E. Imp. Gaz., XII, p. 423.

[3] Ferishta-Scott, *History of the Deccan*, II, pp. 115–20 (179 ed.); Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 388-89; Taylor, *Story of My Life*, p. 226.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 96; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-34.

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As the Muslim power declined, the Beḍar chiefs continued to maintain their position and though nominally tributary to the Peshwās, never performed any actual service. The Marāṭha records sometimes throw some light on how much tribute was recovered from these Beḍar chiefs. In A.D. 1765, for example, Rs.9,901 were received by the Peshwa from 'Pam Nayak Pid Nayak of the Sorapur *sansthān*'.[1] This Pam Nāyak was evidently the same who fled from the Moghuls in A.D. 1706. The actual tribute from this Pidia Nāyaka was fixed in A.D. 1765 at Rs.55,000[2] but this was apparently found to be too heavy by this Beḍar, therefore 'at his request' it was reduced to Rs.40,001 in A.D. 1766-67. It was at this time stipulated that this 'Pām Nāyak' should restore all property taken by him in battle and that he should abstain from giving any trouble till the conclusion of a treaty.[3] Whether a treaty was actually carried out with these Beḍars as the Peshwās did with the Bhīls and the Koḷis, is not known, but it is probable that the Beḍars lived in amity with the Peshwās.

This can be seen from the later relations of the Beḍars with the Marāṭhās. In A.D. 1784-85 a '*Rāje* Venkaṭappa Nāyaka *Bahīri*' of this *sanṣthān* of Śūrapura sent an elephant to the Peshwā,[4] and this Venkaṭappa Nāyaka is the same Venkappa Nāyaker mentioned in the Autobiography of Meadows Taylor. It is clear that this Venkaṭappa Nāyaka continued to rule surely till A.D. 1793-94 because he came into the political limelight in this year. This was because in this year the *sansthān* of Devadurga belonged to one Kilich Nāyaka and on his death it was usurped by his illegitimate son, Rangappa Nāyaka. Now *Rāja* Venkaṭappa Nāyaka *Bahīri Bahadur*, to give him his full name, being a descendant of Kilich Nāyaka in the female line, attacked this *sanṣthān* but Rangappa killed himself and the *sanṣthan* fell into the hands of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. He requested the Peshwa to recognize his claim and his request was granted.[5] During the reign of this Venkaṭappa Nāyaka in A.D. 1785 the Nizam and the Peshwa concluded their treaty of Yaṭgir and they considered whether this Beḍar chief should be attacked and his dynasty suppressed as a public nuisance. But this Beḍar, partly by showing a very bold front and partly owing to the valour of his Beḍars and also by paying or rather consenting to pay Rs.50,000

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1 Vad, *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, IX (282), pp. 257-58.
2 *Ibid.* (283), p. 283.
3 *Ibid.* (287), p. 261.
4 *Ibid.*, VI (579), p. 101.
5 *Satāra Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI (595), p. 115.

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a year to Nizam-ul-Mulk, he escaped the threatened danger. This amount the Beḍar chief could afford to pay, because Śorapūr was then in a flourishing condition, with a revenue varying between twenty and thirty lakhs a year. During the rule of this ruler, says Meadows Taylor, who was entrusted with the administration of the Śorapūr State later on, there were two battalions and a park of artillery and these with a Beḍar militia of 12,000 and a considerable body of cavalry, made the chieftain Venkaṭappa Nāyaka 'truly formidable'. Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, each in turn, tried to induce this Beḍar ruler to join them in vain, but though he overran the part of the neighbouring district of Śorapūr, Tippu made no attempt to attack Śorapūr.

The descendants of Venkaṭappa Nāyaka do not appear to have distinguished themselves in any way and the state of Śorapūr slowly sank into insignificance. Probably the descendant of this Venkaṭappa Nāyaka was Kriṣṇappa Nāyaka who seems to have left no impression as a personage of historical consequence. On his death the Nizam's government under whose jurisdiction Śorapūr now appears to have come, demanded a *nazrāṇa* or a succession fee of 15 lakhs, which the administration of Śorapūr was in no position to pay. Nevertheless the amount was partly paid in cash and except the final balance of four and a half lakhs obtained as loans on British security from the '*Gosain*' bankers of Śorapūr, year by year until this Kriṣṇappa Nāyaka died, the state 'then being virtually insolvent'.[1] His son Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, evidently named after his illustrious grandfather, was entrusted to the care of Meadows Taylor, while the young ruler's uncle *Rāja* Piḍ(e) Nāyaka was made administrator. This unfortunate prince is recorded to have participated in the memorable mutiny of A.D. 1857 and was suspected of treason for attacking a small force which had been ordered to go to the assistance of Campbell. Being defeated, the prince fled to Hyderabad where he was arrested.[2] Despite the intervention of Meadows Taylor, as there was no more any possible hope of regaining his lost independence, the young Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II in A.D. 1858 one fine morning shot himself. As he left no heir, for he was only twenty-four years old, the valiant line of the Śorapūr Nāyakas vanished for ever from the pages of history.[3]

The line of the Nāyakās of Śorapūr may provisionally be reduced to the following genealogical tree, especially from the sources of history already noticed in this sketch till now:

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[1] Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-27.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 394.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 394.

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Kaṇṇappa Nāyānār.[1]

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Pīḍē Nāyakā I, 1686 A.D. accession.

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Pāma Nāyakā circa 1766 A.D. 1773 A.D.[2]

|

Vēnkaṭappa Nāyaka I, 1773-74–1794 A.D.[3]

|

Krisṇappa Nāyaka married Iśvarammā.[4]

|

Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II (minor), 1841–1858 A.D.
married Rangammā.

|

(*Raja* Pīḍē Nāyaka—Administrator)[5] uncle
of the little prince, Venkaṭappa Nāyaka II.

The Beḍars of Citaldurga (Citradurga).

Another notable line of Beḍars who came into the limelight of Marāṭha politics were those of Citaldurga, who vied in importance with those of Wagingere. In A.D. 1770 the progress of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I at Nidjighul, a place of considerable strength, was arrested for a time. This fort not only held out for several months but repulsed two assaults made by the Marāṭhas, in one of which Narayana Rao, the brother of the Peshwa, was wounded. It is interesting to note that such a place was at last stormed by the *Pāḷeyagara* of Citaldurga, at the head of Beḍars.[6] The independence of such a brave people was crushed at least in Citaldurga by the intrepid Hyder Ali in A.D. 1779. This adventurer, through the shameful treachery of some Muhammadan officers, captured this Beḍar capital of Citaldurga and thence carried 20,000 Beḍars to his capital, Seringapatam, where he converted the choicest and youngest of them into battalions of Muhammadan Celās.[7] There are reasons

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[1] Cf. *Census Report*, 1891, para. 538; *Madura Manual*, Pt. II, p. 63; *North Arcot Manual*, I, p. 234; Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 60. Note: All this information is merely traditional.

[2] *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VI (556), p. 87. Here it is recorded that in 1773-74 A.D. Venkaṭappa Nāyaka having succeeded to the *Sanṣthān of Śūrapura* 'during the current year', a *nazar* of Rs.40,001 was imposed on him.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI (595), p. 115. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[4] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 141, p. 227, p. 143.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 161, p. 160, p. 161, (ed. 1920).

[6] Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, I, p. 567.

[7] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 162; *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Introd., p. 28. My. Ar. Rept., 1929, p. 22. In this connection see my forthcoming article 'The Conquest of Citradurga by Hyder Ali' in the September issue of the Q.J.M.S.

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to believe that these Beḍars proved most efficient soldiers in the service of the Mysore Sultanate. This can be proved by incidents which occurred in the 18th century. In A.D. 1785 it fell to the lot of Hari Panḍit, the general of the Marāṭhās, to send back all his wounded from Bādāmi whence he moved towards Gajendraghaḍ, but as the small fort of Sēērtee lay in his route, he breached and stormed it.[1] Scarcely had he accomplished this object, when he was informed that Tippu Sultan was marching to give him battle. But such was the vigilance of a corps of Beḍars in the service of Tippu, consisting of both horse and foot, 'that the address and dexterity of Marāṭha spies, famous only where their language is spoken', as Grant Duff strangely observes, could obtain no correct intelligence of Tippu's movements and the only first authentic account which the Marāṭha general received assured him that Tippu was in full march to attack Adoni.[2] Again in A.D. 1791 the Beḍars in Mysore proved extremely useful. Although Hari Pant and Paraśurām Bāhu, the Marāṭha generals were near Seringapatam, the capital of Tippu, where they knew their allies, the English under Cornwallis, were encamped, the Marāṭhās were not able to convey any intimation of their approach to the English commander, as every letter was intercepted by the admirable activity of Tippu's mounted Beḍars! This circumstance was considered very discreditable to both the Marāṭha generals by their own countrymen and it was 'a matter of most serious regret' to Cornwallis that he had remained ignorant of their approach.[3] In the next year (A.D. 1792) too these Beḍars proved equally hostile to the Marāṭha army. When returning from Seringapatam after this war, the devastation committed by the troops of Paraśurām Bāhu during their advance rendered grain and fodder extremely scarce. Moreover the heat and drought, together with the constant annoyance, in spite of the peace, of the Beḍars and Pindāris of Tippu, all combined to make the march of Paraśurām Bāhu from Seringapatam to the Tungabhadrā, one of the most distressing the Marāṭhās ever experienced.[4]

The Beḍars in Administration

But even the wildest measures of usurpers like Hyder Ali could not quell the turbulent Beḍars, who continued to survive as a distinct and destructive tribe during the Marāṭhās even after the catastrophic year of A.D. 1779, though, of course, they were from a political point of view, the least important when compared with their con-

[1] This Gajēndraghaḍ is in Dharwar Dt., 51 miles S.W. of Kalāḍgi.
[2] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 175.
[3] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-04.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

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temporaries the Mīnās, the Bhīls, or the Koḷis. A record, pertaining probably to the year A.D. 1766 refers to their presence in a military establishment of the fort Tatvadā in these words: '*gaḍkarī vā bēraḍ dēkhīl kārkūn āsāmī* 125 *savāṣe ahēt*'.[1] That these Beḍars were actually employed in the Marāṭha administration there can be no doubt for Marāṭha documents support this statement. A letter written in the year A.D. 1773-74 reveals how the village of Sūpa, being infested with robbers, one *Naik* (Nāyaka) on a monthly pay of Rs.10 and three Beḍars on a remuneration of Rs.13-8-0 per month for all the three of them, were permitted to be employed by the Central Government at Poona. This public expenditure was recovered by a special rate which was imposed on all the residents of the village of Sūpa including the Brāhmaṇs who were invariably exempted from taxation by the Marāṭha State.[2] This measure reminds one of the *Bhil-paṭṭi* which was also a Marāṭha imposition imposed during the Peshwās, for a similar purpose of driving the Bhils away from infested villages. Both these taxes bear a strong resemblance to the *Mallakara* which was levied during the reign of Jiṣnuguptā in Northern India[3] and appear to have been inflicted on the people only during the periods of such tribal incursions.

The exact designation of these Beḍars so employed was probably that of watchmen. In A.D. 1777-78 one Kriṣṇarāo Anant engaged thirty-three Māngs and Beḍars to keep watch in the town of Satāra on a monthly salary of Rs.263 'per month and a half'. He was directed by the Peshwa Government to recover all this amount which came to Rs.2,104 a year from merchants and well-to-do people in the locality, while *no contribution was to be levied upon the poor*. It was also ordered that a security should be taken from those Beḍars engaged to make good all the property stolen in the town or in its neighbourhood.[4]

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[1] *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, 39 (74), p. 67.

[2] *Selections from the Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries*, VIII, (954), p. 131: *Kasbē supēn yēthēṅ corāncā upadrav āhe, tyās, rākhavālīs bēraḍ karār karūn dilhē: tyās dar-mahā:* 10 *nāyik* 1. 13 *bēraḍ āsāmī* 4: 23 .... 4. *Ēkūṇ sāḍē tēvīs rupayē çār āsāmīs darmahā dēvilē asēt, tarī gāmvkharçākhērīz paṭi khānesumārī dēkhīl brāhmaṇ yāprāmeṇ karūn, bēraḍ majakūr yāṇçā muṣāhirā sarkār āivaja śivāy devūn gāmvāncī rākhvāli karāvaṇē mhaṇōn Ānandrāv Trimbak subhedār pargaṇē majakūr, yāṇçē nāmve chā* 23 *saphār, Ibid., p.* 132.

[3] Sylvan Levi, *Le Nepal*, III, p. 69: Ghosal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 232.

[4] *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VIII (954), p. 131: *Kśetra Pandharpur yēthēṅ corāncā upadrav hōtō, sabab tēthīl rakhavālīs sanadī pyādē āsāmī* 25 *pancavīs ṭhēvayāci tumhāṅs āj̃nā kēlī asē, tarç pancavīs pyādē cangalē pāhūn dīḍ mahinā ṭhevūn kṣētra majakūr yēthīl corāncā bandōbasta karaṇē. Kṣētra majakūr ethil āivajiṅ tumhās majūra paḍēl mhaṇōn. Cintō Rāmacandra Kāmvisdār kṣetrā majakūr, diṁ(m) at Parasarām Ramcandra yānce nāmve: p.* 132.

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From these two examples of administrative convenience it may be inferred that the Marāṭha State, in order to deal with local disturbances, employed Beḍars at least temporarily in State service, that such localities as were affected had to pay for the employment of these watchmen, that this levy was generally recovered mainly from the rich and that securities were obtained from such employees for good behaviour in the interests of the public peace.

The levy of such a tax did not mean that, in all localities where such thefts or depredations occurred, the suffering inhabitants were compelled to meet all the expenses in connection with the employment of such watchmen. The rulers of the Marāṭha Empire were not, after all, such ruthless administrators, because there are numerous examples to prove that they had the welfare of the people at heart. In the year A.D. 1795-96 for example, the village of Khēḍ was suffering from the forays of thieves and the Peshwa government sent three Beḍars to keep watch in this place. The pay of one of these Beḍar watchmen was paid by the government, while that of the others had to be raised by public subscription from the villagers, Brāhmaṇs and others of the locality.[1] Here again the imposition of this tax on Brāhmaṇs deserves to be noted, for they were usually favoured by the Marāṭha rulers in accordance with classic sanction. Nevertheless the real reason for meeting the expenditure in connection with the pay of one of these Beḍars cannot be fathomed clearly, but it was probably due to the comparative poverty of the locality.

Again it is not at all surprising that due security was taken from those Beḍars employed as watchmen in villages pestered by thieves, for these Beḍars themselves were extremely unreliable, being much addicted to plunder and theft. In the year A.D. 1782-83 there occurred an incident which fully bears out these traits of this wild tribe of Beḍars. One Abdulla Wallad Sheik Nathu, a *Jamāddār*, had stood security for certain Beḍars of Nandgir. When the time for settling the claims arrived, the Beḍars absconded and, in accordance with Marāṭha custom, the unfortunate Abdulla was sent to prison.[2] The government of the Marāṭhās apparently learnt a salutary lesson from such convenient escapades of the irresponsible Beḍars and insisted, as has been seen above, on obtaining securities from them.

The Depredations of the Beḍars

No wonder these Beḍars were employed as watchmen to guard obviously against their own kinsmen who were expert robbers, for

[1] *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas Diaries*, VIII (958), pp. 132-33.
[2] *Ibid.*, (934), p. 118.

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it is a well established fact that the Beḍars have adopted dacoity as a profession from the seventh century since when they have been well-known as professional cattle-lifters in the Karnāṭakā country.[1] No doubt this tradition amongst them continued down to the days of Marāṭha supremacy. In A.D. 1774-75 a dacoity took place at Nārāyangaon and in consonance with current belief, the Beḍars living near by in Ārāvī, were arrested and imprisoned in the prison at Junākoṭ. But as nothing could be proved against them, they were ordered to be set at liberty.[2] In such depredations on helpless villages and their occupants, these free-booters indeed proved to be no better than the wild animals of the forest. This can be proved by an example of such a Bēḍar incursion which took place in during the days of A.D. 1775-76. The *wataṇs* of the Deśmukh and the Deś-Kulkarṇi of the *parganā* Cimalge were attached by the government and the result was that cultivation decreased, while the Beḍars commenced their usual inroads on private property in this part of the country. The government, however, found that, as no revenue could be realized, it was worth while to order the removal of the attachment.[3] But such was the hatred with which these wild people were looked upon by the residents of the locality and even by the State itself, that to any one who associated himself with these Beḍars was meted out the worst penalty in the land. In the same year (A.D. 1775-76) one Kalya Wallad Gangājī Golā of Supe was found to have served under certain Beḍars and was reported to have accompanied them on their expeditions for committing dacoity. Once arrested, he was ordered to be beheaded.[4]

But more interesting is the treatment meted out to such of those Beḍars who were unfortunate to be caught red-handed by the agents of the State. Such victims were hardly treated as human beings. Two such Beḍars were arrested in A.D. 1775-76 for committing thefts. For not confessing their guilt, such was the beating which they received at the hands of a *kārkūn* in the *Huzūr* of Pāga that the poor people perished. No punishment was inflicted on the ruthless clerk who was only ordered to send the property of these Beḍars to the government headquarters at Poona.[5] Even later in the early days of the nineteenth century the Beḍars continued to harass the Marāṭha country. The Peshwa government was informed during A.D. 1803-04 that the Beḍars were pestering the

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[1] Cf. *My. Ar. Rept.*, 1928, p. 91. *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 78, p. 56 *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 6, p. 2, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 75, p. 56, *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 249, p. 239.

[2] *Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, VIII (970), p. 139.

[3] *Ibid.*, VI (810), p. 320.

[4] *Ibid.*, (894), p. 90.

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII (900), p. 94.

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villages and roads in several *Mahāls*. Orders were therefore issued to the *Pant Pratinidhi*, the *Pant Sacīv* and the officers of Poona, Junnar, Sūpē and Phaltan to depute some men to protect the suffering people.[1] Here it may be recalled that the Marāṭhā State once again had recourse to the same old system of rendering assistance to its subjects as was found efficacious during the earliest days of the Peshwā sovereignty. Despite all these attempts of the Peshwās to control the turbulence of these wild Beḍars, it must be confessed that no evidence is forthcoming to reveal whether the Marāṭha State ever made any sincere attempts to reform these unfortunate people and thereby utilize their remarkable man-power for the expansion and establishment of the great Marāṭha empire.

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[1] *Ibid.*, V (179), p. 181.

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EARLY (ORGANIZED) ENGLISH TRADERS IN BENGAL: THEIR MOTIVES

By J. C. De

Writing in 1806, Nawáb Muhabbat Khán says that 'Calcutta is a wonderful city, in the country of Bang'. 'It is a specimen of both China and Farang'.[1] On the 25th of May, 1813, Stewart called Bengal 'the finest province under' the 'dominion' of 'the Honourable East India Co.'[2] Campos says in 1919, 'When the Portuguese actually established commercial relations in Bengal, they realized to their satisfaction what a mine of wealth they had found. Very appropriately did the Mughals style Bengal the Paradise of India'.[3]

But wherever our patriotism may lead us to, we must not for a moment suppose that it was the reputation of an all round excellence which invited early organized English trade into Bengal. Bengal as compared to the other portions of India could not have possessed in the eyes of the English of those days an unsullied fame for unique commercial possibilities which would almost compel settlement.

The very fact that no European nation noticeable from the point of view of an author of Indian History, chose a Bengal town for its first trade-centre, in spite of the fact that all of them fought for supremacy within 'a range of a few miles' of Hugali[4] seems to lend a *prima facie* credence to my point of view.[5]

Even as early as Ibn Batutah's days Bengal was regarded as 'ce qui signifie en arabe un enfer rempli de biens'. At the same time, it was known also as 'the Paradise of Regions'.[6] Al-Badáoní records that elephants were brought from Bengal by Tughlaq Sháh, and that Muzaffar Khán, the governor, 'sent a present to the Emperor consisting of 5 lacs of rupees in ready money, and other notable gifts of elephants, and cloth, which were beyond calculation'. But when Mun'im Khán, Khán Khánan and his followers visited 'Gaur', various diseases . . . attacked their constitutions; and 'every day hosts upon hosts of people played out their existence', and 'bade farewell to one another'. 'Things came to such a pass that the

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[1] Elliott and Dowson: Vol. VIII, p. 382.
[2] Stewart: 'The History of Bengal', dedication-page.
[3] Campos: 'History of the Portuguese in Bengal', p. 25.
[4] Not Hooghly, as Campos spells it.
[5] Campos: p. 44 and n.; Calcutta Review, 1919, p. 92.
[6] IV, p. 210; Thomas: 'The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi', p. 153, n. 2.

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living were unable to bury the dead, and threw them into the river.' At the same time, in connection with his remarks on the struggle between Dáúd, Junaid Kararání and Kálá Páháḍa on one side, and Khán Jahán, Muzaffar Khán and Todar Mall on the other, Badáoní says that after the victory 'many elephants and much spoil' fell to Akbar's generals.[1]

The Persian envoy from Shah Rukh who visited India during the middle of the fifteenth century says that Bengal merchants (among others) brought to 'Ormuz' 'those rare and precious articles which the sun, the moon and the rains have combined to bring to perfection, and which are capable of being transported by sea'.[2]

Bábur tells us that the king of Bengal was one of the 'chief' kings of 'Hindustán', possessing a formidable army and navy. Treasure-hoards of the country were noteworthy. 'It is reckoned necessary for every king on mounting the throne to collect a new treasure for himself. To collect a treasure, is, by these people, deemed a great glory and ground of distinction'. 'The mango' 'the best fruit of Hindustán', as grown in Bengal, was 'excellent'. While discussing the comparative richness of the countries which lay to the east, the emperor was advised by some that if he 'did not go to Bengal, there' was 'no other place in that direction which was rich enough to satisfy the troops'. But we find that there was according to Bábur 'a singular custom in Bengal, that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty'. 'There is a throne', continues Bábur 'allotted for the King; there is in like manner a seat or station assigned for each of the Amírs, Wazírs and Mansabdárs. It is that throne and these stations alone which engage the reverence of the people of Bengal. A set of dependants, servants and attendants are annexed to each of these situations'. The persons were removable at the 'King's' pleasure. Intrigues involving all these dependants, etc. and unquiet therefore must have been the result. Even the 'King' was not safe. 'Whoever kills the King and succeeds in placing himself on that throne', was 'immediately acknowledged as King'. In this connection Bábur notices also another curse of Bengal, the Abyssynian regicide.[3]

Humáiún specially notices the superb quality of the orchards of Bengal, and declares that among a particular 'class of fruits' there is no species so pleasant as the santereh' of Bengal.[4] 'Abul Fazl

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[1] Muntakhabu't-Tawáríkh, Vol. I (Transln.), p. 301; Vol. II, p. 277, p. 221, p. 245; Smith: 'Akbar the Great Mogul', p. 143 and p. 144.

[2] 'Narrative of the voyage of Abd-er-Razzak' (Transln. by Major), p. 6 and p. 7.

[3] 'Memoirs of Babur' (King's), Vol. II, p. 197 et seq., p. 364, etc.

[4] A note in the Túrki copy, p. 234 n.

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calls it a 'delightful country' in the Akbarnáma.[1] The 'Wáki'át-i Jahángírí' says that Bengal 'is an extensive country . . . . . its length is 450 kos . . . . . and its breadth . . . . . is 220 . . . . . Its revenues amounted to sixty krors of dáms. In former times its governors always maintained 8,000 horse, one lac of foot soldiers, 1,000 elephants and 400 or 500 war boats'.[2] But 'Abul Fazl also records that 'the country of Bengal is a land where, owing to the climate favouring the base, the dust of dissension is always rising. From the wickedness of men families have decayed, and dominions been ruined. Hence in old writings it was called a Bulghákhána (house of turbulence)'. 'The discipliner of mortals'[3] who knew 'that country' was 'by its climate inimical to horses' and in some parts 'also' 'injurious to men', increased the pay of the soldiers, by 100%.[4]

The Táríkh-i Firishta notices that the 'people of Bengal' 'of large property' 'were accustomed to eat' out of 'golden vessels'. 'Whoever could produce most solid gold plate at an entertainment was considered the greatest man'. A number of elephants and 'many other valuable presents' were handed over by the Prince of Bengal to the emperor of Delhi in 'A.H. 760'. 'Valuable presents' and 'magnificent offerings' from Bengal are also mentioned.[5] But there was many a revolution and many a cruel tyrant. Firishta records that Muzaffar (e.g.) 'slew' 'four thousand men' whom he had taken prisoners, 'with his own hand'. The Páikas had become a menace to authority and the Ethiopians regicides.[6]

Pyrard quotes that 'every one from the Cape of Good Hope to China, man and woman, is clothed from head to foot' in the products of Indian looms. Moreland rightly thinks that the statement is grossly exaggerated. But 'Indian looms had a practical monopoly of the home market for clothes, and in addition had three principal export markets, Arabia and beyond, Burma and the Eastern Islands, besides minor outlets in various other parts of Asia and on the east coast of Africa'. Bengal took her share in this manufacture. She also produced a kind of sackcloth in the district of 'Ghoraghat'.[7]

The Áín-i-Akbarí points out that the harvests of Bengal were usually abundant. Rice was the most noticeable one among these. Muslin of a fine quality was manufactured at Sonargaon. We know

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[1] E.g. Beveridge: Akbarnáma, Vol. III, Ch. XXIII, p. 169.
[2] Wáki'át—Elliott, Vol. VI, pp. 326 and 327.
[3] Akbar.
[4] Akbarnáma, III, Ch. LI, p. 427 and p. 431 (Beveridge).
[5] E.g. Briggs, Vol. IV, p. 332.
[6] P. 328 to p. 358.
[7] Moreland: 'India at the death of Akbar', p. 178 to p. 181.

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from other sources that sugarcane was also 'a common and valuable crop'. 'Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India'.[1]

De Barros says that 'the people natural to the land of Bengal are mostly Hindu, weak in fighting but the most malicious and treacherous in the whole East; so that to injure a man anywhere, it is enough to say he is a Bengala'.[2]

'A Portuguese description of Bengalis calls them false and thieves; people who get up quarrels as an excuse for robbery'. This statement is probably excusable in light of the assertion made by an experienced Portuguese trader that 'the sauce the Bengalis served' them was sometimes undoubtedly 'bitter to the taste'.[3]

But Law, the French factor, says, 'In all the official papers . . . of the Mughal Empire, when there is question of Bengal, it is never named without adding these words, "Paradise of India", an epithet given to it par excellence'.[4]

'Benguala', reported Vasco da Gama, 'has a Moorish King' 'and a mixed population of Christians and Moors. Its army may be about 24,000 strong, ten thousand being cavalry, and the rest infantry, with four hundred war elephants. The country could export quantities of wheat and very valuable cotton goods . . . It abounds in silver'.[5]

Ralph Fitch, a London 'merchant, being desirous to see the countries of East India'[6] sailed by 'a ship of London called the Tyger' and in course of his wanderings (1583–1591) visited 'Bengala' then under the rule of 'Zelabdin Echebar'. 'The place where the Portuguese keep in the country of Bengala' and which 'standeth a league from Satagan is' 'Hugeli'. The other 'haven' was that of 'Angeli' in 'Orixa' where came 'every yere many ships out of India, Negapatam, Sumatra, Malacca and divers other places'. At 'Bacola' he saw 'very faire and high builded' houses standing in 'large streets.' 'Bacola' had 'store of rice, much cotton clothe and clothe of silke'. A 'great store of cotton cloth' was made at 'Serrepore'. 'Sinnergan' manufactured 'the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India'. From here 'cotton cloth' and 'much rice wherewith India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and many other places' were served, was exported.[7] 'The provision of victuals' of Ceylon came 'out of Bengala every yere'.[8] 'Satgam'

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[1] Áín, 'Account of the XII súbas'; Moreland, p. 118 and p. 119; p. 182; p. 105.
[2] Dec. IV, LIV, IX, Chap. I, p. 457.
[3] Whiteway: The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, p. 233 and n. 1.
[4] Quoted by Campos, p. 19, n.
[5] Appendix to the Roteiro of Vasco da Gama; Campos, p. 25.
[6] Foster: Early Travels in India, p. 8.
[7] P. 24 to p. 28.
[8] P. 43.

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was 'very plentifull of all things'.[1] 'Many of the people' in 'Sinnergan' were 'very rich'.[2] But 'the country of Gouren' was 'almost all wilderness', some highroads were 'full of thieves', many houses as 'in the most part of India' were 'very little and covered with strawe, and' had 'a few mats round about the walls, and the doore to keepe out the tygers and the foxes'. Rebels against central authority abounded in and about 'Serrepore'.[3]

William Hawkins the 'Lieutenant-General' of one of the eastern 'fleets', and captain of the Hector, (1608–1613) says that 'Bengala' was one of the 'five great kingdomes' of the Empire with its 'chiefe seate at Sonargham'. 'Bengala' was full of 'rebels' and there (as in the 'Deccan' and 'Guzerat' 'a man' could 'travell no way for outlawes'. 'Their government' was 'in such a barbarous kind, and cruell exacting upon the clownes, which causeth them to be so headstrong'.[4] Among these 'out-lawes' were to be included probably 'the Portugall out-lawes' mentioned by Finch (1608–11) who held a 'small fort' 'in the mouth' of the 'Ganges', did 'much mischief, living in no forme of subjection to God or man'. The danger from 'Raja Mugg' 'very powerful in horse, foote and elephants' is also noticed by Finch. 'Beneath him' again 'amongst the streames of Ganges keepeth a Potan prince of the Dely-kings race, whom 'the King' could not 'subdue by reason of the streames and islands of Ganges'. He used often to 'make' 'inroades upon the Kings lands enforcing Sha Selim to maintain a frontire army'.[5] But Thomas Coryat (1612–17) notices that 'Bengala' 'was' 'a kingdom of most singular fertilitie'. Terry (1616–1619) calls 'Bengala' 'a most spacious and fruitfull kingdome, limited by the gulfe of the same name'.[6]

Presence of the other European races exercised a double influence on the motives of the early English trader. It lured the English on, in so far as it showed them the way to the country. At the same time, the actual or potential rivalry of these powers acted as a deterrent to their advent into Bengal. It is a significant fact that within 'a range of a few miles' of Hugali 'seven European nations fought for supremacy, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the Danes, the French, the Flemish, and the Prussians' of the Bengalische Handels—Gesselchaft'.[7]

On the 15th October, 1615, the Dutch fleet 'signalized its first appearance in Bengal' by joining an Indian prince and 'fighting with the Portuguese'. Next month, 'the pirate Gonzales of 'Sandvípa joined that prince, and in the contest of, Nov. 15th Dom Francisco

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[1] P. 26.
[2] P. 28.
[3] P. 28, etc.
[4] P. 100 and p. 114.
[5] P. 181.
[6] P. 246 and p. 295.
[7] Campos: p. 44 and n.

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de Menezes was killed. In August, 1616, 'Van den Broeck, the first Dutchman to attempt trade at Surat', was 'favourably received but not permitted to establish a factory'.[1]

Between 1615 which saw the first appearance of the Dutch in Bengal[2] and 1620 when Robert Hughes arrived at Patna from Agra to establish an agency for developing trade with Bengal, and other purposes, the rivalry of the English with the Dutch was fought out in real earnest. The bone of contention was the claim for exclusive trade with the Spice Islands. Complaint to King James 'of the interference of the London Co. with the natives of Bantam and the Spice Islands' in September, 1618, was followed by the destruction of the English factory at Jakkatra, and an action was fought between the two fleets on 23rd December. In spite of the conclusion of the 'Treaty of Defence' on July 17th, 1619, Capt. Jourdain with the 'Hound' and 'Sampson' was attacked by three Dutch vessels on 26th July, and in October of the same year, the 'Dragon' and 'three other pepper-laden ships' were forced by the Dutch to surrender. On 14th February, 1618, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the Company from Ahmedabad, 'They (the Dutch) wrong you in all parts and grow to insuffrable insolencies . . . you must speedelye looke to this maggat; els, wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides'.[3] Matthew Duke while forwarding 'an analysis of the accounts of the factory' from Petapoli wrote to the Company on the 9th December, 1618, 'A small Duche shipe from Bantam' reported that they had 'taken two . . . . shipes of the English that went from Bantam for the Molockas. These buterboxes are groanne soe insolent that yf they be suffred but a whit longer, they will make claime to the whole Indies, so that no man shall trade but themselves or by thear leave'.[4]

In 1612, the Danish East India Co. was 'formed at Copenhagen', and in August, 1616, the first Danish ship arrived in India under the command of Rodant Crape. In 'the attempt to land off Tranquebar' Crape lost his vessel. His crew were killed by 'a hostile crowd' almost as soon as they gained' a footing on Indian soil'. In Nov., 1619, a Danish fleet under Gyedde reached Ceylon. Crape and Gyedde succeeded in establishing a trading establishment and a fort in Tranquebar. The fort, the Dansborg, was placed in charge of Hendrik Hess 'with twenty of a garrison'. The first permanent Danish settlement in Bengal was still many years distant; but even

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[1] Campos : p. 124; Duff, Vol. II, p. 72 et seq.

[2] 'Though Dutchmen like Van Linschoten' who served in the Portuguese fleet 'had' 'visited Bengal towards the latter half of the sixteenth century'.

[3] Eng. Factories (1618–21), p. 17.

[4] P. 47 to p. 49.

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during the period immediately preceding the advent of Robert Hughes to Patna rivalry between them and the English became evident.[1] On 20th October, 1619, for example, the Surat factors in their letter to Afzal Khán speak of the arrival of 'several vessels belonging to a country called Denmark'. The English thought that the 'intentions' of these newcomers were 'doubtful', and they offered to safeguard Mughal ships against pirates.[2] On November 3rd and 5th of the same year, Kerridge, Rastell and James wrote about 'those newcome Danes and other pyratts' who indirectly endangered the trade of the Co. 'into the Redd Sea' and their 'estate in the countrie'.[3] About a fortnight later, their letter to Agra says, 'Farther wee pray you playnly to (ad)virtise' the Mughal authorities 'of the five Denmarke ships (and) three other French, some of which we veeryly beleeve may robe there shippes in the Red Sea next yeare'.[4]

The prominent rivals of the future, the French, were however during this period in the background. As early as 1604, that great monarch of France, Henry IV, granted 'a charter to a French East India Co.' It was however soon afterwards dissolved. Among the renewed attempts relevant to our present purpose, we may mention the formation of the 'United French East India Co.' in 1611, and the grant of letters patent by Louis XIII to a French Company, 'to trade to the Indies under the joint auspices of two contending parties'. In July, 1527, the Rouen merchants had sent a ship to Diu. Rivalry with the Portuguese began almost at once. In 1528, the Maria de Bon Sécours 'was seized by the Portuguese'. 'In 1616, a fleet sailed from St. Malo for the Moluccas, while in that year and 1619', Beaulien led French ships to the Indies. Roe writing to Kerridge early in February, 1618, notices the possibility of the French indirectly injuring British trade. 'The Dutch, French or pyratts might, and the jealouzie after wrong us'. We have also noticed above the reference to three French ships in connection with the mention of 'the five Denmarke shipes'.[5]

On May 28th, 1498, Vasco da Gama was received in audience by the Zamorin, and nineteen years later, Fernáo Peres d'Andrade was sent 'with four ships particularly to open a trade with Bengal and China'. Long before 1620, Portuguese influence became well established in Bengal. In 1580, Akbar's foujdár at Sátgáon 'being defeated by the king of Orissa . . . fled to the Portuguese governor at

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[1] The Calcutta Review, 1919, p. 92; Duff: Vol. II, p. 69 et seq.
[2] Eng. Factories (1618–21), p. 131.
[3] P. 139.
[4] P. 146.
[5] Duff: Vol. II; C. Hist. of India, Vol. V, p. 61; English Factories (1618–1621), p. 5 and p. 146.

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Hooghly for protection'. Portuguese rivalry with organized British trade began almost as soon as the 'Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies' was formed. In 1601, for example, there were 'a few' Englishmen among the prisoners of the Portuguese at Goa. The Dutch tried 'to oust the Portuguese from the Mozambique and blockade Goa' in 1603, and the 'English' captured 'a Portuguese ship in Malacca', the same year. The rivalry continued, and the Portuguese Viceroy prepared, in 1614, 'a powerful fleet and armament for the destruction of four English ships which had arrived at Surat'. The Portuguese though driven off, again attacked them about three weeks later. On June 7th, 1615, a treaty was concluded with Jahángír 'the main object' of which was 'the expulsion of the English and Dutch'. On February 15th, 1618, Roe says, '(the Portuguese) rather enviously hinder us then like noble enemies hurte us'. 'Want of a peace with them . . . makes all these trades of Indya . . . heavy and dangerous to the undertakers'.[1]

During the period immediately preceding 1620 we find that naval fights between the English and the Portuguese were common occurrences. Master John Rowe captured, the 'Nossa Senhora da Porta Segura' 'bound from Goa to Ormus' on November 20th, 1618, and 'another Portuguese vessel', the next day.[2] Kerridge and Rastell wrote to the Company from Surat on February 9th and 15th, 1619, that 'a fleete of shippes, who weare English . . . mett with a Portingal gallion bound for Goa (from) whom by composicion they receaved 90,000 rials'.[3] A postscript to another letter dated the 13th of March, 1619, says that news was received of a 'Portingal fleete' being got ready 'to possesse your road of Swally before your next years trade'.[4]

British power, Walsh remarks, is the product of two factors; the ousting of 'all European competitors' and the 'entire' subjugation of 'a vast and warlike population'.[5] The rivalry with the Dutch during the period 1618–20 was accentuated, as Bruce points out, by the feeling of that nation that the 'Joint Stock was enabling the London Company to send out large fleets'; and that consequently the English would not be content with 'only a subordinate share of the East India trade'.[6]

'In 1617', says Dr. Khan, 'the complaints against the Dutch became incessant. From almost every factory in the East the same

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[1] Duff, Vol. II; Campos, p. 26 and p. 55; English factories (1618–21), p. 22.
[2] Eng. Fac. (1618–21), p. 45.
[3] P. 53.
[4] P. 82.
[5] A History of Murshidabad District, Part I, p. 1.
[6] Annals of the East India Co. (1810 edition), Vol. I, p. 201.

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account is repeated'. 'The Flemings thunder it most terrible in these parts' 'wrote', for example, 'the President of the English factors in January'.[1]

In addition to the rivalry with organized trade, the early English trade had to think seriously of piracy which was rampant in Bengal and elsewhere during this period. A 'section of the Portuguese' 'shook off the authority of the governor', says Campos, for example, 'and beginning life as adventurers eventually became so powerful as to establish an independent kingdom'. 'With the massacre of Dianga' in 1607, 'an era of piracy had dawned, piracy . . . that was to assume frightful proportions'.[2] Moreland thinks that there were individual Portuguese pirates even earlier than 1607. 'In 1608', says Duff, 'the Burmese king, Mahádhammá Rája destroy(ed) Syriam and 'drove' the Portuguese from his kingdom. Escaping to the Ganges delta they 'lived' by piracy'.[3] With the fall of Gonsalves in 1616, some of the Portuguese probably more than ever before 'sought the means of subsistence in plundering and piracy. Arising as a necessity, piracy eventually became an art, a trade.' 'It was a time . . . when plundering was generally accepted as the best method of avenging wrongs real or supposed and of punishing the enemy. The Afghan kings of Bengal, the Kings of Arakan and of Tippera ravaged one another's territories without the least scruple'.[4]

'The Dutch, French or piratts' of the letter of Roe to Kerridge, 'pirates' in the letter of the Surat factors to Afzal Khán, and 'those newcome Danes and other pyratts' of the letter to the Company from Kerridge and others, have been referred to above. Roe writing to the Company on February 14th, 1618, says that 'the prevalence of pirates such as those in the two ships set out by Robert Rich and Philip Bernardi' was a 'special danger'. The capture of these privateers is referred to in a letter of Captain Pring to the Company, of March 18th, 1618.[5] In a letter of Kerridge and others of February 18th, 1620, we find 'Piracie upon the Mores junckes in the Red Sea will be required of our goodes'.[6]

Arakan also by its wars and plundering expeditions kept Bengal unquiet. The king in 1597-1598 called himself according to the Rev. Father Pimenta 'the Most High and Mighty King of Arakan, Tippera, Cucoma and Bengal'. An Arakani paper-claim on Bengal therefore existed at least as early as that date.[7] Referring to the

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[1] The East India Trade in the 17th century, p. 60.
[2] PP. 81–87, p. 154 et seq.
[3] From Akbar to Aurungzeb, p. 46, n. 2; Duff, Vol. II, p. 66.
[4] Campos, p. 157.
[5] E-3. P. 17; p. 29.
[6] P. 185.
[7] Hay, pp. 730–33, 840–7; India at the death of Akbar, p. 29.

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closing period of Sháhjahán's reign, an eminent scholar points out that 'whole districts in Noakhali and Baqarganj had been depopulated through' the 'ravages' 'of the Arracanese'. 'Their daring attacks, ferocious cruelty, uncouth appearance, barbarous manners, lack of religion and caste and practice of eating unclean animals—all made the people of East Bengal, Hindus and Muslims alike, regard them with a mixture of terror and loathing'.[1]

The reports therefore that reached the ears of the English before their introduction of organized trade into Bengal must have led them to the opinion that the country was a rose with many a thorn. There had been 'long periods of unrest, turmoil and revolution stained with murder and rapine'. 'The masses of the people' were probably 'held in quasi-feudal control' by the landlords, or as 'serfs' by the king. 'The Hindu nobility' is not heard of frequently.[2] But her rulers had maintained their independence of Dehli for two centuries and a half, and beautified her with many an artistic and useful building. Some of the rulers were strong and benevolent, and gave peace and prosperity to the country. The Hindu prince still maintained a good many of his privileges intact.

Political disturbances leading to commercial insecurity continued. The 'Wáki'át', for example, gives numerous indications that the country was in a disturbed state even after the death of Akbar. Even though 'the whole country was annexed to the Imperial dominions', the successor of Viceroy Mánasiṁha was 'assassinated by one of the turbulent characters of the country', and ''Usman the Afghán' who had fought Akbar's forces attacked Jahángír's viceroy. 'The battle began', 'the fight waxed warm', and 'the bold rebel mounted on a fierce elephant pushed forward and encountered the advanced force'. It was only with difficulty that victory could be won and the followers of ''Usman' who had taken refuge in their strongholds subdued.[3]

The very fact that 'the Mughals always jealous of Europeans' were 'already in possession of Bengal' must have again acted as a deterrent to the advent of the English trader. Wheeler says that they 'had great difficulty in establishing a trade' because of this reason.[4] If we are permitted to refer to a later author who speaks about these times, an author who was himself a high official of the Mughal Empire, we find this view supported. Kháfí Khán admires

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[1] Modern Review, 1908, p. 16; History of Aurungzeb by Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 283 and p. 284.

[2] Bourdillon: Bengal, etc., p. 23; Smith; Akbar, p. 145 to p. 147.

[3] Wáki'át in E. and D., Vol. VI, p. 327 et seq.

[4] Wheeler: Early Records of British India, p. 147.

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the English churches. 'In the churches of the English who are also Christians there are no figures set up as idols.' He speaks highly of the hospitality of the English at Bombay and their disciplined musketeers. But he says that they were 'not bold in the use of the sword'; it was a 'misfortune' to see the English; they were 'misbelievers'; 'the balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English' at Bombay was 'obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God'. 'The reprobate English' acted 'in the same way as the sakanas', a group of Surat pirates. He even prefers the Portuguese to the English. 'On the sea' the Portuguese were 'not like the English, and' did 'not attack other ships, except those ships which' had 'not received their pass according to rule' or the ships of their enemies, the Arabs and others.[1]

Shaikh Hasan Muqarrab Khán was certainly of help to the English in Patna. 'I have', wrote Hughes on July 12, 1620, 'since my cominge vizited the Governor Muckrob Con whoe seems wonderous pleasant for our arivall here'.[2] But when Prince Parwíz succeeded Muqarrab he turned 'merchants as otheres, from theire aboades whose houses hee hath liberalye bestowed on his servants; amongst which couppelment wee are displaced, and have bine thise ten days wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, thoughe but with grase'.[3] 'The Prince' required 'the merchants, brokers, shopkeepers, ettc. of' Patna 'to furnish him with' 'mony'. 'None' dared 'be seene to sell a pyce worth of goods'. For this reason, Parker had not 'yet provyded the gum-lacke' on Aug. 7, 1621.[4] Again on Aug. 14, 1621, Hughes and Parker 'at Patna' complained that 'the goodes provided 'last year were, on their way to Surat', 'robed and spoyled by the Decans armye'.[5] The Mughal could not always guarantee security. 'The rains' were also impediments.[6] Between 'Lackhoare' and Agra there was 'noe other conveyance' 'but by carts, which by reason of the rottenes of the wayes in the season of the raynes pass(ed) nott'.[7]

At the same time, in the very texts that we have quoted above there is ample testimony to the abundant, if not extraordinary, economic resources of Bengal and her commercial potentiality. It became gradually apparent to the English trader that 'silk could be purchased at the best advantage at Kasimbazar', and 'saltpetre at Patna'. At the same time, all the difficulties in their way were not probably perceived at once by the English trader.

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[1] Muntakhabu—I Lubáb in E. and D., Vol. VII, p. 212, p. 344, p. 245, p. 350 to 355, etc.
[2] Eng. Factories (1618–21), p. 191.
[3] P. 256.
[4] P. 259.
[5] P. 259.
[6] P. 256.
[7] P. 258.

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Organized English trade, on the whole, hesitated to come into Bengal. Writing from Ahmedabad, for example, on February 14th, 1618, Roe said, 'Bengala hath no ports but such as the Potugalls possesse for small shipping. It will vent nothing of yours. The people are unwilling in respect of the warr (as they suppose) like to ensue in their seas; and the Prince hath crossed it, thincking we deesired to remove thither wholly'. 'But now', he seemingly added as an after-thought, 'I may obteyne one ship to come and goe upon hope of rubies from Aracan and Pegu'.[1] The fear of the Portuguese is again apparent from this letter to James. The Portuguese trade interests in Bengal are thus referred to by Robert Hughes from Patna on July 12, 1620. 'Many Portingalls', he wrote, 'are latlye gon for their portes in Bengala' where 'they usiyale bringe vendable' 'all sorts of spices and silke stufes of Chyna, tyne and some jewelleres ware in lewe whereof they transporti course carpets of Junapoore, ambertyes, cassaes and some silke'.[2] On Aug. 6, 1620, he refers to the 'diverse frigitts of Portingalls from Sutgonge whose merchants buye up all they can laye hand of'.[3] On November 30th of the same year, Hughes and Parker noticed that 'the Portingalls of late yeares have had a trade here in Puttana cominge up with theire friggits from the bottom of Bengalla where they have two porttes, th' one called Gollye, and th' other Pieppullye; and therein are licenced by this kinge to inhabit'.[4]

The immediate motives which sent Hughes to Patna are well stated in the same letter. The authorities 'enordered some experience to be made in the partes of Bengala' because that 'by reporte it promised good store of Calico clothinge, rawe silke, etc. the commodities' 'most desired' by the Company, 'for which cause they appoynted Robert Hughes to be sent from the Agra factory to Puttana, the chiefest marte towne in all Bengala'. 'Amberty callicoes' and raw silk were considered to be 'the two mayne propes which must uphoald this a factory'. That touch with Bengal might be maintained through Patna was also perceived. In this the Portuguese had shown the way.

On Jan. 22nd(?) 1620, Kerridge and Rastell writing from Surat to Agra point out that 'Mr. (Hughes)' would be posted at 'Hogreporepatania' 'or where else the am (bertees)' were 'made'.[5]

In a letter of Dec. 15, 1619, the cloth is thus described. 'The narrow cloth called ambere callicoes . . . is stronge, close-made and

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[1] P. 14.
[2] P. 195.
[3] Factory Records, Patna, Vol. I, p. 4; Eng. Fac. (1618–21), p. 197.
[4] Fac. Rec., Pat., Vol. I, p. 16; Eng. Fac., p. 212 et seq.
[5] P. 182.

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well conditioned, and hath noe fault but the narrownes; and we doubt not', say the officers of the Company, 'but will bee very vendible, if not in England, yet to bee transported for Barbary, beinge soe lyke the Polonia cloth usually sent thither'.[1]

Such were therefore the conditions under which Robert Hughes the 'second at Agra' and John Bangham were ordered to proceed to Patna to establish a factory. Bangham 'was detained on the way', and Hughes reached Patna on July 3rd, 1620.

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[1] E.F., pp. 161 and 162.

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MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON FAMILY NOMENCLATURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

In a note contributed to *I.C.*, January, 1938, pp. 363ff., I pointed out that the designation of certain families in ancient India were derived from animals, plants, etc. Attention may in this connection be called to Chapter XIX of the *Mahāvaṁsa* where Geiger finds reference to the 'hyena and sparrow-hawk-clans'. Incidentally it may be noted that on p. 363 of the article and on p. 364 (5 lines from the bottom) *Audvijja* should be spelt *Audbhijja* as in the first paragraph of p. 364 and on pp. 365, 366. On p. 365 it is necessary to point out that strictly speaking *Bimba* and *Bimbaka* signify a kind of *fruit* and *bimbikā*, the *bimba plant*, though the distinction between *Bimba* and *Bimbikā* is not clearly indicated in certain lexicons. The point however does not affect the argument in the paper.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

THE ARYAN COLONIES OF KIṢKINDHĀ AND LAṄKĀ

It is no doubt true that Vālmikī describes the Rākṣasas as a class different from men and gives the Vānaras, monkey faces and tails. But we must not on that account be defected from the essence of the poem. The facts that the Vānaras were generated by gods (devas) to aid Rāma in conquering and killing Rāvaṇa will not in any way lessen their human activities. In many places in the Rāmāyaṇa they are called Kāmarūpies (with forms assumable at will) just like the Rākṣasas. If both of them could and did assume human forms on many occasions, is not that fact an indication of their essential human affinity? Both are called Māyāvids (knowers of Māyā). In Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Chapter XVI, Verses 3 and 4, the Vānaras are reputed to be knowers of policy and possession of wisdom and to be acquainted with *Asthras* (spiritual weapons). Does not this show their humanness? In the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa (Chapter XXXIII, Verse 6) they are described as wearing garlands and clothes (दिव्यमाल्यांबरधरैः). Has any one heard of monkeys doing

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so? They are described as capable of moving through earth and water and air.

The episode of the friendship plighted by Sugrīva and Rāma before the god of fire shows that the Vānaras knew the use of fire and had human virtues. They were learned in Sanskrit. Hanumān was specially noted for his Vedic lore and his knowledge of grammar. In the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, III, 29 to 34, Rāma praises his learning and his power of speech:

नान्टग्वेदविनीतस्य ना यजुर्वेदधारिणः ।
ना सामवेदविदुषः शक्यमेवं प्रभाषितुं ॥
नूनं व्याकरणं कृत्स्नमनेन बज्ञधा श्रुतं ।
बज्ञ व्याहरतानेन न किंचिदपशब्दितं ॥

In the Sundara Kāṇḍa it is said that he did not speak in Sanskrit to Sītā lest she should take him to be Rāvaṇa in disguise and that he spoke to her in the Prākrit dialect known to her. In the Uttara Kāṇḍa it is stated that Hanumān learnt Vyākaraṇa (the science of Grammar) from the Sun-God (Chapter XXXVI, Verse 46) and that he knew nine Vyākaraṇas and all the sacred lore (Chapter XXXVI, Verses 47, 48). He was also an expert in the medical science and knew precious herbs. In the Uttara Kāṇḍa (Chapter XL, Verses 15 to 20) we are told about his supreme devotion to God. How could monkeys have these traits? In the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa we are told about the fondness of Vānaras for wine (Madhu and Mairaya) (see Chapter IV, Verse 7; Chapter XXXIII, Verse 7 and Chapter XXXVII, Verse 7). Monkeys could not distill wine. Further, Vānaras used to dress themselves. When Vālī and Sugrīva met in fight they were clad in garments (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Chapter XII, Verse 15 and Chapter XVI, Verse 16). Nay, when Sugrīva performed the obsequies of Vālī he wore a wet cloth (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, 26). Hanumān had a white cloth on when he first met Sītā (Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter XXXII, Verse 1). Shoes are referred to in Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa (Chapter IV, Verses 26 and 27). Tārā is described as wearing ornaments (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Chapter XXXIII, Verse 38). Vālī wore a golden necklace. The Vānara ladies put on fine garments before ascending the Puṣpaka car to go for Rāma's coronation (Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Chapter CXXIII, Verse 36). Sītā presented Hanumān with a precious necklace during the coronation. The Vānara ladies loved the use of sandal paste (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Chapter XXXIII, Verse 64). They knew the art of music (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Chapter XXVII, Verse 27 and Chapter XXXIII, Verse 21). These are all human characteristics. Nay, the Vānaras lived in a

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fort and had flags and machines (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Chapter XIV, Verse 15). Vānaras had an enlightened system of government. They had a sense of right and wrong. Even to-day Vālī's criticism of Rāma is a masterpiece of moral argument. The Vānaras are further described as having gracious and refined manners. Rāma and Sugrīva shake hands and swear eternal friendship. The Vānaras are described as making gifts to Brāhmins (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Chapter IV, Verse 28). Even their funeral ceremonies were like that of the Aryans proper. They cremated their dead (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, Chapter XXV, Verse 48). Further, when Rāma killed Vālī he justified his act by saying that Vālī's immoral act deserved death. More than any other indication, we have the supreme indication afforded by the fact that Hanumān prays to all the Aryan gods before he begins his search of Sītā (Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter XIII, Verses 65 to 68). Vālī was performing his Sandhyā worship regularly all through his life (Uttara Kāṇḍa, Chapter XXXIV, Verses 16 and 18).

It is thus clear that the Vānaras must have been an Aryan colony which settled down in South India and were cut off from their brothers who were living in North India. These were in the seat and centre of Aryan culture and were achieving remarkable progress. Such progress was due to the fact that they lived in fertile lowlands and had a prosperous environment and to the further fact that they lived in large numbers which was itself a factor stimulating progress by their means of approval and criticism. But the early Aryan emigrants to the central uplands and forest tracts had neither of these advantages. Their country was only sparsely inhabited and was not the seat of expanding progress and growing refinement.

The Rākṣasas also were Aryan immigrants to the south. But they settled down in a fertile tract and built up a great civilization. It is difficult to say if Laṅkā was Ceylon or not, or if Ceylon is only the old Siṁhala Dvīpa (island). I do not think that any definite inference can be drawn from the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa that Hanumān leaped a distance of a hundred Yojanas (800 miles). Laṅkā is stated in the Rāmāyaṇa to be the name of Rāvaṇa's capital. It is described as a great city built on the uplands of a mountain (लंकां गिरिवर्यं मूर्ध्नि—Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter I, Verse 215; अद्रिमूर्ध्निप्रतिष्ठितां —Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter IV, Verse 25). It is further described as swept by the sea breezes (सागरानिलसेवितां—Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter XIII, Verse 3). I am of opinion that Laṅkā was the capital of the island of Ceylon (Siṁhala Dvīpa), just as Ayodhyā was the capital of the Kośala country. The country had an equable climate and was very fertile as it had a plentiful rain supply.

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हंसकारं हवाकीर्णाः वापीः पद्मोत्पलावृताः ।
आक्रीडान् विविधान्रम्यान् विविधांश्च जलाश्रयान् ॥
संततान् विविधैर्वृक्षैः सर्वर्तुफलपुष्पितैः ।
उद्यानानि च रम्याणि ददर्श कपिकुंजरः ॥
(Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter II, Verses 12 and 13.)

We must remember that even then there were the great South Indian kingdoms of Chera and Chola and Pāndya. They were ruling over an indigenous population who were speaking their own languages. Stray Brāhmin sages had settled down in the forest near those kingdoms and had already influenced those politics. But as they had not then been included in the circle of Aryan States, Rāma did not invoke their aid against Rāvaṇa. He sought the aid of the semi-civilized Aryan king of Kiṣkindhā rather than their aid. He sought his aid as against a great Aryan king who was strong and prosperous beyond description and who, having become cruel and fond of luxury by having been cut away from the purifying influences of the parental polity, was a source of terror to all. Rāvaṇa had a powerful outpost in Janasthāna and spread havoc far and wide.

That the Rākṣasas were Aryans and that Rāvaṇa and other chiefs spoke Sanskrit are clear from the poem. While deliberating as to the language in which he would speak to Sītā, Hanumān says that if he spoke to her in Sanskrit she might take him to be Rāvaṇa in disguise and might be overcome by fear and might even refuse to speak to him (Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter XXX, Verse 18). The Rākṣasas were performers of elaborate yāgas. They were attached to the ancient Śiva cult. It is not right to identify them with fireless cults or to say that the worship of Śiva was a fireless cult. They had knowledge of *Asthras* (spiritual weapons) and were experts in Mantras and in Vedic study.

शुश्राव जपतां तत्र मन्त्रान् रक्षो गृहेषु वै ।
स्वाध्यायनिरतांश्चैव यातुधानान् ददर्श सः ॥
(Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter IV, Verse 13.)

षडंगवेदविदुषां क्रतुप्रवरयाजिनां ।
शुश्राव ब्रह्मघोषांश्च विराजे ब्रह्मरक्षसां ॥
(Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter XVIII, Verse 25.)

Vālmikī takes care to impress upon us the fact that the Rākṣasas had a low ethos and revelled in luxury and drew down destruction

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on themselves. The description of Laṅkā and its splendid luxuries and refinements and vices and cruelties in the early cantos of the Sundara Kāṇḍa makes this fact clear beyond doubt. The contrast between Ayodhyā and Laṅkā is brought out vividly.

तस्मिन्पुरवरे हृष्टाः धर्मात्मानो बहुश्रुताः ।
नरास्तुष्टा धनैः स्वैः स्वैरलुब्धास्सत्यवादिनः ॥
कामो वा न कदर्यो वा नृशंसः पुरुषः क्वचित् ।
द्रष्टुं शक्यमयो ध्यायां नाविद्वान्न च नास्तिकः ॥

(Bālakāṇḍa, Chapter VI, Verses 6 and 8.)

इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेस्तु पंचपंचभिरुत्तमैः ।
तर्पयामास मातेव तदा रावणपालिता ॥

(Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter IX, Verse 29.)

Nay, Vālmikī, after describing Rāvaṇa's harem with an almost luscious fulness, calls the life there the life of beasts.

न शक्या प्रमदा नष्टा मृगीषु परिमार्गितुं ।

(Sundara Kāṇḍa, Chapter XI, Verse 46.)

Thus the Rāmāyaṇa is a picture of the home of Aryan culture pulling up the stagnant life of an Aryan colony and pulling down a misshapen and dissolute, though strong and prosperous, Aryan colony. The poet's aim was to show to the world an ideal Aryan polity which could be 'true to the kindred points of heaven and home'.

K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri.

ON THE DATE OF VIṢṆUPURĪ

In the *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 101–103, Mr. Amarnath Ray has raised the question of the date of Viṣṇupurī and his *Bhakti-ratnāvalī*, and has referred to the MSS. of the work in the Dacca University collection, about which I am in a position to add some information.

The two verses *vārāṇaysāṃ maheśasya* and *mahāyajña-śara-prāṇa*°, which profess to give the date and place of completion of the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* and its commentary *Kānti-mālā* and which Mr. Ray

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quotes at p. 103, do not occur in the text in the printed edition of the work published in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series, Allahabad, 1912. The editor, however, informs us (pp. 147-48) that both these verses, which do not occur in his own MS. dated Saṃvat 1699 (=1642 A.D.), are appended separately as a footnote in the 'Calcutta printed edition'; but he gives his opinion that they are not to be taken as conclusive, inasmuch as they are not found in all MSS., and that 'perhaps they are the statement of a copyist as giving the date and place of the copy he had transcribed'.

There are six MSS. of the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* and its commentary *Kānti-mālā* in the Dacca University collection, all of which are written in the Bengali script (Nos. 1672, 2302, 2356, 3446, 3501 and 3526). Both the verses are missing only in MS. No. 2302, which is complete in 54 folios. They occur *before* the final colophon in MS. No. 3526; but in MS. No. 1672 which is dated Śaka 1645 (=1723 A.D.) only the verse *vārāṇasyāṃ maheśasya* (and not *mahāyajña-śara-prāṇa°*) occurs *before* the colophon. In MS. No. 2356, which from script and appearance seems to be an older MS., the verse *mahāyajña-śara-prāṇa°* is missing, but the verse *vārāṇasyāṃ maheśasya* occurs as a post-colophon addition on the lower margin. In MSS. Nos. 3446 and 3501 both the verses occur *after* the colophon, in the former case after the commentary on the lower margin, and in the latter case *mahāyajña-śara-prāṇa°* after the text and *vārāṇasyāṃ maheśasya* after the commentary. The uncertainty of the point of insertion of these verses and the omission of the one or the other in some MSS. make it probable that the verses were early scribal additions. It is interesting that the verse giving the date (*mahāyajña-śara-prāṇa°*) is entirely omitted in two of our MSS. while it is given as a post-colophon addition in two others.

In the Catalogues and Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts where this work has been noticed, we find that they are missing in Rajendra-lal Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. i, No. 422, p. 240 (Bengali script) and in Aufrecht's Bodleian Catalogue, No. 90, p. 37 (Devanagari script). In Aufrecht's *Florentine Manuscripts*, p. 76, they do not occur; but Aufrecht notes that the work was composed at Benares in 1634 A.D., presumably adding this information from the note in the Calcutta edition referred to above. In Eggeling's Catalogue of India Office Manuscripts, vi, pp. 1272-73, however, the manuscript contains these verses inserted *before* the colophon to the commentary; but the manuscript itself appears to have been copied by one Rāma-kṛṣṇa of Śaṃkarapura in Devanagari for Śrī-Viṭṭhaladāsa in Saṃvat 1652 (=1595 A.D.)! Eggeling notes this inconsistency and remarks: 'There is some difficulty in reconciling the date of the work (Śaka 1555=A.D. 1633-34) with the date (Saṃv. 1652=A.D. 1595) of

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the present MS., which, as far as appearance goes, one would hardly take to be more modern'.

It would seem, therefore, that any chronological conclusion based on these verses would be extremely doubtful. And the date of the copying of the India Office MS., which in Eggeling's opinion can hardly be questioned, would make it probable that the work could not have been composed later than 1595 A.D. and would throw doubt on the date given by these verses. The intrusion of the two verses in question, giving a much later date of the completion of the work itself, is indeed a puzzle, but it may have been a later scribal insertion from some other MS. which includes them. Whatever may be the explanation, it is clear that the evidence furnished by these verses regarding the date and place of completion of the work is at best of uncertain value. There is no strong ground, therefore, for thinking that the verses of Viṣṇupurī which are quoted in the *Padyāvalī* but which cannot be traced in the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* are apocryphal or composed by some other Viṣṇupurī; for, in the first place, the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* is merely an anthology of Bhāgavata-quotation with just a few verses of Viṣṇupurī's own at the end, and the non-occurrence of the *Padyāvalī* verses in it is, therefore, not surprising nor inexplicable; and in the second place, there is no conclusive evidence that the *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* was composed at a later date.

It is also noteworthy that the colophon to the commentary in most of the Dacca manuscripts, as well as Eggeling's and Rajendra-lal Mitra's manuscripts, read with slight variations: *iti śrī-puruṣotta-ma-caraṇāravinda-kṛpā-makaranda-bindu-pronmīlita-viveka-tairabhuk-ta-paramahaṃsa-śrī-viṣṇupurī-grathita-śrī-bhagavātamṛtābdhi-labdha-śrī-bhaktiratnāvalī-kāntimālā samāptā.* Apparently Puruṣottama was Viṣṇupurī's Guru, according to this colophon, and not Jayadhvaja or Mādhavendrapurī. And there is no tradition of any other Viṣṇupurī of Tirhut.

S. K. De.

GOPĀLA BHAṬṬA—A REVIEW

Students of the history of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism have reason to be grateful to Dr. S. K. De for his scholarly and non-sectarian studies in the literature of the sect. In his article on Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, contributed to the July number of this journal, Dr. De has put together all available information about this Gosvāmin and has

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demonstrated the unreliability of some of the traditional legends which have accumulated round his name. It appears necessary, however, to re-examine the data presented by him with a view to checking one or two of his conclusions.

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To begin with, a few minor slips noticed in the article, might be pointed out:—

1. Both in the article under discussion (footnote, p. 68) and in the introduction to his edition of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (p. xlvi), Dr. De states that the official name or title which Sanātana held under the Muslim ruler of Gauḍa was Dabir Khas. This is wrong. His official designation was Sakar Mallik, that of his brother Rūpa was Dabir Khas.[1]

2. At p. 58, Dr. De says that Śivānanda Śena was one of the direct disciples of Caitanya. Śivānanda was a much older man than Caitanya and all that the relevant authoritative texts tell us about him is that he belonged to the inner circle of Caitanya's devotees. D. C. Sen says about him that both he and his son, Kavikarṇapūra, were disciples of Śrīnātha Ācārya, one of the many disciples of Advaitācārya, and the author of a commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, named *Caitanya-mālā-mañjūṣā*. Śivānanda is said to have re-named his deity, Kṛṣṇadeva-Rāya, after his guru.[2]

3. At p. 57, speaking of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Dr. De says that he (Gopāla), along with the five other Gosvāmins, settled down to the celibate life of an ascetic devotee. The statement is rather inaccurate. Gosvāmin Raghunātha-dāsa is known to have married before turning an ascetic, while the present Sevāyets, at Vṛndāvana, of Rādhāramaṇa, a deity said to have been installed by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, claim their descent from this Gosvāmin. The validity of this claim, no doubt, remains to be examined.

4. More than once Dr. De speaks of a Bengal recension of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam*. Would it be accurate to speak of a Bengal recension of the work in connection with such old commentaries thereon as the 'Kṛṣṇavallabhā' or the Śravaṇāhlādinī? Bilvamaṅgala's work was unknown in Bengal before Caitanya brought a copy of it from South India. This must have been a South Indian recension, only it differed in details from the South Indian recensions at present known to us.

5. At p. 59, Dr. De says that 'it is curious that at the time when Caitanya is alleged to have directed Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to meet Rūpa and Sanātana at Vṛndāvana, he himself had not yet met them

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[1] See Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Madhyalīlā, Ch. 1, and Caitanya-Bhāgavata, Antya-khaṇḍa, Ch. 9.

[2] See 'Chaitanya and his Companions', pp. 118-9 and p. 34.

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and there was as yet no question of a Vṛndāvana settlement'. This statement is correct so far as the meeting between Caitanya and the two brothers is concerned. We have it, however, that Rūpa had frequently written to Caitanya before they met,[1] while Caitanya is said to have actually sent Lokanātha Gosvāmin to Vṛndāvana near about the time of his initiation into sannyāsa.[2] Gopāla Bhaṭṭa might have come into contact with Caitanya during his southern tour in some way; otherwise it would be difficult to explain how this Brahman lad from the land of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas came under the influence of Caitanyaism so much so that he left hearth and home, ran to Vṛndāvana, turned an ascetic and started work for the propagation of the cult. Something like the great personal magnetism of Caitanya must have brought this about.

As regards the disputed authorship of the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, Dr. De concludes as follows:—

> 'It seems probable, therefore, that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the actual author of the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, but the attribution to Sanātana might have arisen from a kind of collaboration, which will remain undetermined, between this doyen of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in making this voluminous compilation.'

The only evidence as to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship of this work is the statement it contains to the effect that Gopāla wrote it for the satisfaction of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Rūpa and Sanātana. As against this, we have the unqualified attribution of the authorship to Sanātana by such high authorities as Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. The author of the 'Anurāgavallī', Manoharadāsa, says that the book was mainly Sanātana's work, but that Gopāla supplied the illustrative passages; while Narahari, author of the 'Bhaktiratnākara', seeks to explain the conflict of testimony by saying that Gopāla wanted to write a Smṛti work, but as Sanātana actually wrote it, the work was passed in Gopāla's name, as if to soothe the feelings of a younger colleague!

A statement in the body of a book as regards the authorship thereof is apparently good evidence, but we know of hundreds of manuscripts in which the authorship is found attributed to persons who could not have written the books. Then, again, Caitanya himself is stated to have commissioned Sanātana to compile a Vaiṣṇava Smṛti work, and it seems unlikely that he should have shirked his own responsibility and cast it upon the shoulders of another man.

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[1] Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Madhyalilā, Ch. 1.

[2] Premavilāsa, Ch. 7.

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Dr. De summarily rejects the suggestion of Sen and Kennedy that the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, really a work of Sanātana, was passed for a work of Gopāla because Sanātana's defection from Hinduism to Islam before his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism would have stood in the way of acceptance by Vaiṣṇava Society of a Smṛti work written by him. He holds that Sanātana never adopted Islam. This may be true. But it has to be borne in mind that the very acceptance of service under Muslims necessitating close intercourse with them was bound to lower the social status of a Brahman in those days of orthodoxy. It is, again, difficult to say what was the actual social status of this South Indian Brahman family which, migrating to Bengal, moved about from place to place for a living. Besides, a perusal of the Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Madhyalīlā, Ch. 1, and Antyalīlā, Chs. 1 and 4, leaves no doubt in one's mind that Rūpa and Sanātana were outcastes who considered themselves untouchables. Coming to Puri, they took up lodgings in the outskirts of the town with Haridāsa, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava convert from Islam. Like Haridāsa, they could not enter the Temple. Sanātana would not even go near the Temple-gate and was ever on his guard lest his touch should pollute devotees entering or coming out of the Temple, an observance of social rules which earned the commendation of Caitanyadeva. Besides, Sanātana did adopt the garb and habits of a Darvesh. When he met Caitanya at Benares, he was attired in such garb and Caitanya actually addressed him as Darvesh. A Darvesh was midway between a Hindu and a Muslim ascetic, just as a Pīrāli was midway between a Hindu and a Muslim householder. In this view of things, it would be prudent on the part of Sanātana, even if he wrote the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, to pass it in the name of a purer Brahman like Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. A ritualistic work was sure to be more difficult of acceptance in a society which was just getting into shape than works on Bhakti or Rasa. It may be mentioned that the descendants of Advaita and Nityānanda for long looked askance at the new rules laid down in the work, and that to this day the women-folk of these families follow the Smārta injunctions relating to Ekādaśī, Śivarātri, etc., while the male members follow the *Haribhaktivilāsa*. There seems to be no good reason for rejecting the testimony of Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja regarding the authorship of the work.

Without expressly saying so, Dr. De appears a bit inclined to identify Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the ostensible author of the *Haribhaktivilāsa*, with the author, bearing the same name, of the 'Kṛṣṇavallabhā' commentary on the 'Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam'. He points out that Manoharadāsa, speaking of a commentary on Bilvamaṅgala's work by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, actually quotes the two maṅgala-ślokas of the 'Kṛṣṇavallabhā'. Dr. De has found Manohara unreliable in

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other respects. The internal evidence to be found in this commentary in favour of such identification would be much the same as in the 'Śravaṇāhlādinī' commentary on the work by another writer, also named Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. An additional reason for attributing the authorship of this latter commentary to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin would be the author's avowed devotion to Śrī Rādhāramaṇa. As stated already, the present-day Sevāyets of the deity Rādhāramaṇa at Vṛndāvana claim their descent from Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin. This deity is known to have been his sevā, just as Govindajī is known to have been the sevā of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Madanamohana of Sanātana and Rādhādāmodara of Jīva Gosvāmin. Which of these two commentaries, if either, was the work of the Gosvāmin Gopāla is a question which has to be left open in the present state of our knowledge.

Dr. De has done well to point out that the *Haribhaktivilāsa* contains no direction about the construction of the image of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and even omits Rādhā in the *dhyāna* of Kṛṣṇa. In this connection it will be interesting to state that the deities installed by the Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana were single images of Kṛṣṇa, that long after their times a Chief of Orissa sent to Vṛndāvana the first Śrīmūrti (image of Rādhā) which was installed by the side of one of the deities, and that the omission in the case of the other deities was made good gradually. The fact is mentioned in a tract sold in the bazaars of Vṛndāvana. When the writer of the present note visited this holy place about thirteen years ago, the Śrīmūrtī was still wanting in the temple at the place known as the 64-Mahantas and they were collecting funds for supplying the deficiency.

AMARNATH RAY.

GOPĀLA BHAṬṬA—A REJOINDER

It is a matter of gratification that my article on Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in the July number of this Journal has led a well-informed student of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism like my friend Mr. Amarnath Ray to discuss some of my views in his very interesting note; and I thank him for the correction of one inadvertent error with reference to the title of Dabir Khās. I am glad, however, that he has agreed with most of my fundamental conclusions; and where he has differed his difference seems to me to be more apparent than real. I take up the points in their order.

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With regard to Śivānanda-sena I am not convinced that he was not a disciple of Caitanya. Mr. Ray himself admits that the authoritative texts speak of Śivānanda as belonging to 'the inner circle of Caitanya's devotees', thereby admitting that he was a devotee of Caitanya. Śivānanda used to lead the annual exodus of faithful devotees to Puri, and his son Kavikarṇapūra speaks of him as *pārṣadāgṛyaṃ mahāprabhoḥ*. If Mr. Ray means that Caitanya may not have personally initiated Śivānanda into the faith, it would be possible to agree with him if he could produce some better evidence than the mere statement of Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen that Śivānanda was in fact a disciple of Śrīnāthācārya.

As Mr. Ray himself admits that the validity of the claim that the Gosvāmins were not celibates still remains to be proved, it is superfluous for me to discuss this point.

With regard to the Bengal recension of the text of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, I would refer Mr. Ray to my edition of the work, now published by the Dacca University, which would give him the necessary information and settle his doubt. Perhaps Mr. Ray has not fully understood what is generally meant by a recension of a text. No doubt, the work being of Southern origin, the Bengal recension was originally derived from the Southern as it existed at the time of Caitanya, from whose time the tradition of the Bengal text begins; and I have tried to show in the introduction to my edition that the Bengal text probably preserves a better and earlier tradition. In this I do not differ from Mr. Ray. But the Bengal text, though fairly uniform, shows yet individual differences here and there in transcripts, and could not therefore have been the original text of the author himself. It is therefore a 'recension'; and as it exists to-day in manuscripts and printed editions it is different from the text as it exists in Southern and Western Indian manuscripts and printed editions. The question as to which is superior or purer is different from the fact of the actual existence of two versions of the text known to us from two divergent and localized groups of manuscripts at the present time. By recension is generally meant such localized versions which originated indeed from a single version but diverged in course of time.

I am indeed aware that Lokanātha was sent early to Vṛndāvana by Caitanya, as I have referred to this tradition in the introduction to my edition of the *Padyāvalī*, p. xxvi; but this does not mean that the plan had yet matured or taken definite shape. It probably did not do so until Rūpa and Sanātana actually settled there at a much later time and set themselves seriously to the formation of a Vaiṣṇava colony. Of this there is indeed no evidence either way; but we do not hear much of Lokanātha's activity. On the other hand, we

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hear a great deal of activity of Rūpa, Sanātana and the other Gosvāmins in this direction; and the presumption is not unlikely that the Vṛndāvana settlement was primarily the result of *their* zeal and effort, even if the idea existed in Caitanya mind from the very beginning. Apart from the legends which I have discussed in my article and the authenticity of which is not beyond doubt, there is, in my opinion, no clear evidence as to how and when Gopāla Bhaṭṭa met Caitanya. I need not therefore discuss the conjecture offered by Mr. Ray on this point.

Regarding the authorship of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, I am afraid I am unable to follow Mr. Ray's arguments, which add nothing to what has been said by previous writers and which I have tried to discuss without committing myself to a dogmatic opinion. If Mr. Ray examines the available data, he will find that they preclude us from formulating a clear-cut opinion. I have stated both sides of the question, and if I have drawn a 'probable' conclusion (which Mr. Ray quotes) it is only a conjecture which will always remain undetermined without further definite evidence. It becomes, therefore, a question of belief and opinion, and Mr. Ray is quite welcome to his. He may believe the statements of Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and think that the problem is settled thereby; but he cannot so easily dismiss the clear statement of authorship made in the work itself. I am surprised to find the argument seriously advanced that such a statement of wrong attribution occurs 'in hundreds of manuscripts'; but there is no manuscript of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* which omits this statement so as to raise any legitimate doubt in the matter; and Mr. Ray has not also explained the reason why such a wrong attribution was made in the present case when the tradition of Sanātana's authorship is so clear otherwise.

The fact that Sanātana is reported to have considered himself impure because of his contact with and service in the Muhammadan court does not of itself prove the fact of his conversion to Islam, of which there is no direct evidence and which must necessarily remain a matter of conjecture. Even if Mr. Ray is unable to accept my arguments he has not directly met them, and his explanation is hardly convincing that the alleged prejudice against Sanātana would have stood only in the way of acceptance of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which was only a work on Ācāra, fortified at every step by profuse citation of earlier authorities, and would not have stood in the way of acceptance of this doctrinal and more fundamental works, nor of his name being officially and reverentially associated with the works of Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇadāsa and others. The explanation of Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, followed by Kennedy, appears to

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me to be a piece of unfounded but hardly amiable imagination. If Mr. Ray is inclined to believe that Sanātana deliberately passed off his own composition in the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as alleged even by some Vaiṣṇava writers, he can indeed do so; but there is no valid justification for this presumption, and I would not go so far as to impute such a shrewd and unworthy (Mr. Ray calls it 'prudent') motive to one whose purity of intentions is never otherwise questioned. The very fact cited by Mr. Ray that the sect for a long time looked askance at the injunctions laid down in the work can also go to strengthen my point that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as clearly stated in the work itself, was the real author; for some of the views stated in it (see pp. 66-67 of my article), as Mr. Ray would himself admit, could not have been the strictly orthodox views of Sanātana, but of one who had some lingering Śrīvaiṣṇava leanings. Sanātana's other works are never known to have met with disrespect. On the contrary, it is *possible* to argue that the tradition of Sanātana's authorship may have been a later pious fabrication to impart greater authoritativeness to a work at which the sect, as Mr. Ray states, 'for long looked askance'.

If Mr. Ray would identify the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who wrote the *Śravaṇāhlādinī* commentary with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect, there is nothing to prevent him from doing so. But the *Śravaṇāhlādinī* is undoubtedly a much inferior and pedestrian commentary, and its Sanskrit (as the extract quoted in my edition of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* would show) is barbarous. His Guru is Nārāyaṇa, and his connection with the Caitanya sect is not known. I have therefore left the question open.

S. K. De.

THE NON-POSTHUMOUS CHARACTER OF THE MEHRAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION

The Mehrauli Pillar inscription from which we have just quoted a line is almost unanimously regarded as posthumous. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar describes it as 'a posthumous eulogy of the conquest of a powerful king Chandra' in his *List of the inscriptions of Northern India*,[1] and every other scholar that one comes across seems to share this opinion. Recently this view has even led to the fantastic

[1] Page 213.

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theory that the pillar was originally erected by Chandragupta Maurya whose eulogistic inscription getting blurred in course of time was re-engraved by his admirer the emperor Samudragupta.[1] So it seems to be high time to controvert this erroneous idea about the posthumous character of the inscription which, we might point out, is based entirely on the mistranslation of the following verse:—

Khinnasyeva visṛjya gāṁ narapater-ggāmaśritasyetarāṁ mūrttyā karmajitāvanim gatavataḥ kīrttyā sthitasya kṣitau.
Śāntasyeva mahāvane hutabhujo yasya pratāpo mahānnādyapyutsṛjati praṇāśitaripor-yatnasya śeṣaḥ kṣitim.[2]

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar following the translation by Fleet renders the verse into English as follows:—[3]

'He, the remnant of the grat zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like, (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burnt out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth, though, he, the king, as if wearied, has left the earth, and has gone to the other world moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame:—'

One going through the above translation and regarding it as right must naturally conclude that the inscription is a posthumous eulogy. But the translation is faulty, because it leaves out of consideration the important fact that the word *pratāpa* in line 3 of the verse is syntactically as much connected with *khinnasyeva narapateḥ* and *praṇāśitariporyatnasya* as with *śāntasyeva hutabhujaḥ*. If we fill in the ellipses the sentence would run as follows:—

Khinnasya gāṃ visṛjya itarām gāmaśritasya, mūrttyā karmmajitāvanim gatavataḥ kīrttyā kṣitau sthitasya narapateh (pratapa) iva mahavane śāntasya hutabhujaḥ (pratapa iva yasya praṇāśitariporyyatnasya śeṣaḥ pratāpaḥ adyapi ksitim notsṛjati.

With this syntactical order the translation will be as follows:—

'He whose *pratāpa*, the remnant of that energy which destroyed his enemies, does not even now leave the earth like the heat (*pratāpa*) of an ash-covered fire (that burns out the forest), or like the glory (*pratāpa*) of a monarch who, though bodily

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[1] *Journal of Indian History*, 1937, p. 129.
[2] Verse 2 of our inscription.
[3] *Selected Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Part II, p. 25.

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gone to another world, won by his actions still remains on this earth by his fame :—'

Thus translated the verse gives no ground for the statement that the inscription is posthumous. All that it asserts, and that of course in a very beautiful and poetic way, is that Chandra's supremacy and unequalled prestige at the time of incising the record were the result of a number of successful battles in the past in which he uprooted and destroyed his enemies. Sanskritists who re-examine the passage will, I hope, agree with my translation.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

SOME SUNGA COINS—HITHERTO MISREAD

It strikes all readers of ancient Indian coins as something strange and curious that no coins of the Sungas or Mauryas have, hitherto, been found.

The Sungas were one of the most powerful rulers of Northern India after the Mauryas. Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief of Bṛhaddatha, the last Maurya king, slew his master and ruled in his stead. They also came in conflict with the Andhras, Yavanas and Sakas. The Sungas established themselves strongly in the Eastern Malwa.

From the direct evidences which we can gather from various inscriptions and coins, the families ruling at Bhārut, Mathurā, Pānchāl, Vidisā, Vatsa and Ahichchatra at that time seem to be related with one another, and most of them acknowledged suzerainty of the Sungas. But which Sungas? The Sungas who ruled at Vidisā or Magadha? Or the Sungas who ruled at Muttra? My suggestions point to the latter.

Actually, while these different branches were ruling at Bhārut, Kosām, Ahichchatra, Ayodhya, etc., a line of Sunga kings ruled also at Mathurā at that time. These Mathurā-Sungas were so powerful that they brought under their control the kings of the surrounding principalities—say Ahichchatra, Kosāmbi, Bhārut and Ayodhya, etc.

Smith says that recent researches have disclosed the names of a large number of early Rājās, ruling either at Mathurā or over the territories in the immediate neighbourhood of that ancient city. The Rājās, whose coins are described in the Catalogue, are Balabhuti, Purushadatta, Bhavadatta (unpublished), Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta Gomitra, Vishnumitra, Brahmamitra and Surya (?).

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Cunningham also (pp. 85–90) gives examples of the coins of Balabhuti, Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Rāmadatta, Purushadatta, Vīrasena, etc. Cunningham's Plate VIII shows four coins of Rāmadatta and one coin of Purushadatta.

Rapson in his 'Indian Coins' (p. 13) says that some of the coins of Rāmadatta seem to be undoubtedly earlier as they have for the reverse the incuse square which characterizes the coins of the Pānchāl (Sungas).

Now, if we very critically test the coins of Rāmadatta and Purushadatta, we find that the coins are not the coins of ordinary local rulers but of the Sunga kings themselves. These coins bear clear testimony to the fact that they were struck by themselves (Sungas). These coins which are no less important to establish an important fact of history that a line of Sunga rulers really ruled over territory of Northern India and they established themselves strongly at Muttra—and the neighbouring kings of Ahichchatra, Kosāmbi, Bhārut acknowledged their supremacy in turn.

Now, if we turn our attention to V. Smith's Catalogue of Indian Museum Coins (p. 192 and p. 193 and the Plate XXII), we would find that V. Smith describes among the coins of the Rājās of Mathurā—the coins of Purushadatta as follows:—

PURUSHADATTA.

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
I.M.A.E.	Standing Figure—Symbol to *r*—early Brahmi legend Purushadatasa.	Apparently, elephant *l*, with 2 rows of dots above, Plate XXII, No. 10.

Cunningham describes the coin of Purushadatta in Plate VIII, Fig. 17, p. 89.

But to me the coins in question give a different reading. I like to read it as follows:—

Purushadata Súgo (that is, of Purushadatta Sunga).

Both Cunningham and Smith very curiously left off the most important letter 'Go' and misread the preceding letter 'Su' as Sa and joined 'Sa' with 'Data'. But I cannot understand how they could leave off the syllable 'Go' which is so distinctly inscribed, particularly in view of the fact that this syllable is not only embossed in the same script but is of the same size and style and is also arranged in the same line with the preceding ones.

If we take notice of the coin No. 11 of the Smith's Plate XXII, we would find the coin of Uttamadatta very naturally ends with the

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word 'Datasa' (that is of.....datta). This coin would be strikingly opposite to the coin of Purushadatta numbering 10 of the same plate, where the legends do not end with 'Sa' but 'Su' (there is clear evidence of medial 4) but with another word left unrecognized yet up to this date. But why?

The diacritical mark 'ū' at 'Sa' is as clear as anything (vide Smith's Catalogue, Pl. XXII, No. 11).

Then we should come to the coin of Rāmadatta. Cunningham describes four coins of Rāmadatta, V. Smith one and Rapson one.

V. Smith describes one round incuse coin of Rāmadatta and describes it as in page 193 as follows:—

	Obverse.	*Reverse.*
A.G.	Usual standing figure—early Brahmi legend Rāmadatasa.	3 elephants with riders.

Cunningham in p. 86 describes four coins of Rāmadatta of which two with Indian legend 'Rājnó Ramadatasa' in incuse square and two with the same legend and type in circle.

From both the coins described by Smith and Rapson it is quite clear that the legends are not 'Rāmadatasa' but 'Rāmadata Sūgó'.

In the round Rāmadatta coin the inscription is 'Madata Sugo' while in the square incuse coin the legend 'Rajno Rāmadatasu' runs in one line up to the boundary of the incuse square and 'Gō' is just written below of 'Sū' giving the full legend Rajno Rāmadata Sūgo.

Although the Puranic lists do not mention these names, it is not something uncommon. Generally the lines of kings who reigned in Magadha or Behar and contiguous tracts have been given prominence and many western lines of kings have not been mentioned.

In Pāli and Prākrit, the first case-ending of a masculine name is made in 'O' in the plate of Viśarga. Thus, for example, Buddhaḥ is Buddho, Naraḥ is Naro, etc. Similarly Sungaḥ is 'Súgó'.

Provided my reading is correct—the much-expected but never-found Sunga coins must have been discovered and this finding will lead to the establishment of the fact of history that a Sunga line of kings, different from those of Vidisā and Pātaliputra, etc., had feudatories of them round about Muttra in Ahichchatra, Kausāmbī, Ayodhya, Bhārut, etc.

BHRAMAR GHOSH.

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LITTLE-KNOWN WORKS OF CELEBRATED AUTHORS

Short descriptive accounts are proposed to be given here, on the basis of the manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, of several little-known works of celebrated authors like Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, Lakṣmaṇa Deśika and Rāghava Bhaṭṭa.

Of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa (17th century) well-known as the author of the Nirṇayasindhu as well as many other works, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses manuscripts of three works, the nature and contents of which do not appear to have been so far clearly indicated, presumably owing to the extreme rarity of manuscripts thereof. As a matter of fact, it is the society that seems to be in possession of the only known manuscripts, though incomplete, of the *Tattvakamalākara* and the *Mīmāṃsākutūhala*, two works of Kamalākara on the Mīmāṃsā system of philosophy.

The former of these two works which comments on selected sūtras of the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* has been inaccurately described by R. L. Mitra [1] and Kane [2]. It has been identified by Aufrecht with the *Śāstramālā* which appears to be the name of a different commentary, by the same author, on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*.

The second work of which the authorship is doubted by Aufrecht [3] is referred to in the former by name (Fol. 4A) and also presumably in one of the introductory verses in an indirect way.[4] It gives a brief outline of the principal doctrines of the Mīmāṃsā

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1 According to Mitra, this is a work 'On the philosophy of the rites and ceremonies enjoined in the sāstras, being a dissertation on the principles of the Mīmāṃsā school as bearing on Hindu ritual'. (*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, No. 1331).

2 Kane suggests *Sāstratattvakautūhala* as another name of the work, presumably on the basis of two lists of works given at the end of the author's *Vivādatanḍava* where the expressions *sāstre tattvakautūhale ca* and *sastratattvasya kamalākaraḥ* are found to occur and the *Śāntiratna* (*History of Dharmasāstra*, pp. 432-3.). He depends on Mitra and describes the work as one 'dealing with the bearing of the doctrines and maxims of the Mīmāṃsā system on ritual and dharmasāstra'. (*Op. cit.* p. 434).

3 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, III. p. 98.

4 श्रीरामं पितरौ नत्वा कमलाकरशर्मणा।
अर्थशब्दौ निरूप्याथ शास्त्रतत्त्वं निरूप्यते ॥

अर्थशब्दौ in the above verse may not unlikely be a reference to the contents of the °*kutūhale* which deals *inter alia* with the connotations of some of the terms in the Mīmāṃsā system.

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system. The names of the author and his parents are mentioned in the introductory verses.[1]

Of other works on the Mīmāṃsā system presumably by the same author reference is found to have been made respectively in these two works to the *Vārttikaṭīkā* (Fol. 24A) and the *Dīpikāloka* (Fol. 40B).

The *Mantrakamalākara*, of which the manuscript, referred to in *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Private Libraries of North-Western Provinces* (Allahabad, 1877–1886) and mentioned by Aufrecht,[2] is scarcely accessible at the present moment, is preserved in a manuscript in the society, complete in 126 leaves. It is a Tantric digest dealing with initiation, various sorcery rites and the worship of deities like Sūrya, Ganeśa, Rāma, Kārtavīryārjuna, etc. The work is stated to have been compiled for the benefit of the author's son, Ananta.[3] The section on the worship of Rāma belongs to Rāmakṛṣṇa, father of the author.[4]

Of Lakṣmaṇa Deśika and Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, who are well-known as the author and commentator of the famous Tantrik work, the *Śāradātilaka*, two little-known works, the *Tārāpradīpa* and the *Kālītattva*, have been preserved in manuscripts, which are rare, specially in comparison with those of the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Padārthādarśa*, Rāghava's commentary on the *Śāradā*. MSS. that

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1 भट्टरामेश्वरं नत्वा भट्टनारायणं तथा।
श्रीरामकृष्णचरणौ नमामि स्फूर्तिहेतवे॥
सर्वकल्याणसन्दोह निदानं यत्पदद्वयम्।
द्युनदी सोदरीमम्बामुमाख्यां नौमि सादरम्॥
आसादितानि प्रथमेन पुंसा दशस्वरूपाणि युगप्रभेदात्।
एकाश्रयं रूपयुगं प्रपित्सुः श्रीरामकृष्णो भुवि विश्रुतोऽभूत्॥
तत्पादसंसेवनजात् प्रभावादासाद्य हृष्यन् धिषणाविनासम्।
तदात्मजः श्रीकमलाकराख्यः कुतूहलाद् भाट्टमतेऽभिधत्ते॥

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. 429.

3 श्रीरामं पितरौ नत्वा कमलाकरशर्मणा।
अनन्तस्य सुतस्यार्थे मन्त्रतन्त्रं विविच्यते॥

4 यथाश्रुत् पितृकृतो रामपूजाविधिः (Fol. 36 B).

What is described as the *Śatacaṇḍīprayoga* (*Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng.*, III. 2902) is, however, not an independent, new work, being only a part of his extensive work called the *Śāntiratna* (R. L. Mitra, *Notices Sans. MSS.* V. 1946, *Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng*, III. 2184, *Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS. Ind. Office*, III 1758).

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have already been reported are in most cases, scarcely accessible, belonging as they do to private collections, some of which are no longer traceable.

The works deal with the details of the worship of Tārā and Kālī, the two popular deities that are not treated of in the otherwise comprehensive treatises—the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Prapañcasāra*. It is not unlikely that they were intended to supplement the former with which both the authors were closely associated. Manuscripts of the *Tārāpradīpa* have been noticed by R. L. Mitra [1], H. P. Sastri,[2] and the undersigned [3] only two of these MSS. are known to be complete while none of them are dated. The MS. of the society is, however, both complete and dated. It was copied in 1673 S.E. All these MSS. that have been reported of the work, except the one in Bikaner, are in the Bengali script. The popularity of the work thus appears to have been restricted within Bengal where Tantric digests like the *Tantrasāra* and *Śyāmārahasya* refer to and quote from it. But the work seems to be little-known in these days in Bengal or elsewhere. Scholars like Arthur Avalon were not aware of the existence of this work or of any other work of Lakṣmaṇa except the *Śaradātilaka* [4] though a number of them are referred to.[5] It is a metrical work divided into five chapters (except in the MS. described by Shastri which contains six chapters). It is based on a number of original Tantra works which are enumerated in the beginning of the work. It is an independent work having no connection with the *Śaradātilaka* though it is suspected by some people to be a commentary on the latter. The name of the author is given as Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra in the colophons to each chapter as well as in one of the introductory verses. In the MS. described by H. P. Shastri this verse as well as the last colophon read respectively *Yādava paṇḍita* and *Yādavācārya* in place of Lakṣmaṇa Deśika of the other MSS.

Though several manuscripts of the *Kālītattva* were reported all that was known of the work was through a short notice by R. L. Mitra.[6] The society possesses two MSS. of the work, one of which in the Nāgarī script is fragmentary, while the other in the Newari

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1 *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, I. 236, 284; *Cat. Sans. MSS. Library, Maharaja of Bikaner*, p. 618.

2 *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, III. 128.

3 *Descr. Cat. Sans. MSS. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat*, p. 58.

4 Preface to the edition of the work in the Tantrik Texts Series, p. 2.

5 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I. p. 536.

6 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*, No. 1272.

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characters is nearly complete containing 17 of the 21 chapters of the work and is in a fine state of preservation.

It quotes from and refers to a number of original Tantra works and in one place [1] quotes from his own commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*, which was composed in 1550 V.S. (= 1494 A.D.). No Tantra digest is found to have been referred to though many of them are stated to have been consulted for the preparation of the work. The name of the author is given in one of the introductory verses [2] as wel as in the chapter colophons.

No genealogical accounts of the authors, as found at the end of the *Śāradātilaka* and its commentary by Rāghava, are found here. A fragmentary MS. belonging to the society, of a work of Rāghava's grandson called the *Bhuvaneśīprakāśa*, however, shows that the long line of scholars which preceded Rāghava in his family did not end with him but was continued after him by his descendants. Vaidyanātha, for that is the name of the author of the Bhuvaneśīprakāśa, a work dealing with the details of the worship of Bhuvaneśvarī, introduces himself as the son of Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa who is represented as one who crossed the ocean learning.

It should be noted that the identifications proposed in this note, though mostly based on identity of names of authors and similarity of the subject-matter of the works, they may be accepted, at least tentatively, till more definite evidence is forthcoming either in favour or against them.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

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[1] न च उक्तेनैव विधानेन स्नानं कृत्वा तु मान्त्रिकीम् ।
वैदिकीं तान्त्रिकीं सन्ध्यां कृत्वा तर्पणमाचरेत् ॥
इति शारदाटीकाविरोध इति वाच्यम् ।

Fol. 6A of the Newari MS. The verses quoted is found in Avalon's edition of the work (p. 238).

[2] विचार्य सर्वतन्त्राणि कुलनाथगणैः सह ।
साधकानाञ्च पन्थानं गुरूणाञ्च तथात्मनाम् ॥
उपनिषत् तथा स्रोतं निबन्धानपि भूयशः ।
श्रीमद्राघवभट्टेन कालीतन्त्रं वितन्यते ॥

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VIBHÛTICANDRA OF THE JAGADDALA *MAHÂ-VIHÂRA*

Sometime ago the late MM. H. P. Śâstrî gave us to understand that the Buddhist scholar, Vibhûticandra, was a glory of Bengal, and that he was the most celebrated of the Bhikṣus that lived in the Jagaddala *Mahâ-vihâra*.[1] Of late the Rev. Râhula Sâṅkṛtyâyana has recovered from the Sa-skya monastery of Tibet an incomplete paper MS., in Vibhûticandra's own handwriting, of Manôrathanandin's gloss on the *Pramâṇa-vârttika*, and has given an account of Vibhûticandra as follows: 'Vibhûticandra was a young scholar from Vikramaśilâ University, who followed his teacher Śâkyaśrîbhadra, the last hierarch from Vikramaśilâ, in his exile after the destruction of the famous institution by the Muhammadans. First they went to Jagattâla in Eastern Bengal and perhaps after the destruction of it, they went to Nepal, wherefrom they were invited by the head of the Sa-skya monastery. Thus they went to Tibet in 1203 A.C. Apart from Vibhûticandra there were Dânaśîla and other scholars who accompanied Śâkyaśrîbhadra'.[2]

That Jagattâla (Jagaddala) was in Eastern Bengal is a wrong statement, perhaps based upon an old theory of the late H. P. Śâstrî, which had been responsible for mistakes by some others also as to the site of this *Vihâra*. MM. Śâstrî, however, emended his statement later on, but at the same time postulated that the *Vihâra* was in existence before Râmapâla.[3] In my article on the 'Buddhist *Vihâras* of Bengal', I had occasion to deal with this *Vihâra* also: 'The last glory of Buddhism in Bengal was the grand Vihâra of Jagaddala, the creation of Râmapâla, the last great Pâla monarch, who installed therein the images of Avalokiteśvara and Mahat-Târâ. The Vihâra occupied a part of Râmâvatî the new metropolis of Bengal founded by the same Râmapâla at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatôyâ. Besides Bibhûticandra and Dânaśîla, the most renowned scholars of Jagaddala, the names of some other celebrities of the University have come down to us. . . . . The theory propounded by the late MM. Hara Prasâd Sâstrî that Jagaddala was anterior to Râmapâla is due to his confusion of the Dânaśîla of Jagaddala with an earlier Dânaśîla, who was contemporary of Dharmapâla and the Tibetan King Khri-*l* de-sron-*b*tsan'.[4] It should further be noted that Jagaddala is clearly described as 'au pays de Bareṇḍi (Varendra) dans l'Inde orientale' in the transla-

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[1] *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1321 B S., pp. 264–265.
[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, March, 1937, p. 11.
[3] *op. cit.*
[4] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 232-233.

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tion by Dânaśîla of Jagaddala of Candragomin's *Manohara-kalpa-nâma-Lôkanâthastotra*.[1]

It may also be added here that Jagaddala is a name that is borne by more than one place, and at least three villages with this name can be traced in North Bengal alone.[2] The *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* refers, if the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Das is right in his statement, to a Jagaddala in Orissa (Index, part I, p. xcvi), while, again, we read of another Jagaddala in the Bengali *Caṇḍî* of Mukundarâma-Kavikaṅkaṇa (1577–78 A.D.) as being to the south of Trivêṇî and Saptagrâma in the south-western fringes of Bengal. There is also a Jagaddala near about Calcutta. The name 'Jagad=dala' has suggested at least two interpretations for it, viz.: (1) 'a leaf of the world', 'the world being the lotus, and each town a petal of it',[3] and (2) 'a fort (or monastery) surrounded by a moat'.[4] What is, however, difficult to say how these places in different quarters derived a common name, but one may hazard a conjecture that the common name was derived when the monks of the original Jagaddala after having deserted their common monastery went to settle in these different places.

That Vibhûticandra was 'a young scholar from Vikramaśilâ University' is a quite new information, the source of which has not been disclosed. In the pretty large number of works noticed in the *Catalogue of the Tangyur*, in which is associated the name of Vibhûticandra, either as the author or as the translator or as the corrector, he is described either as 'Bhârata-vâsî' (belonging to Bhârata-varṣa or India) or as 'Jagaddala-vâsî' (belonging to Jagaddala), Jagaddala being sometimes qualified as having been in Eastern India (*Pûrva-Bhârata*). But nowhere in the *Catalogue* under notice is Bibhûticandra found to have belonged to the Vikramaśilâ monastery.

Most interesting about the personal history of this renowned celebrity of the Jagaddala *Vihâra* is the fact that he was not the son of an ordinary man, but was distinguished by high birth. In the translation of the *Vajra-carcikâ-karma-sâdhana* of Śrîdhara by Vibhûticandra and Prajñâratna of Tibet, Vibhûticandra is distinctly styled as 'Râja-putra' (the son of a king),[5] although the name of the king is not recorded.

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[1] *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, par P. Cordier, 1915, II., p. 302.
[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 213, Note 1, Blochmann.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Vaṅgêr Jâtîya Itihâsa, Rājaṇya Kāṇḍa*, N. N. Vasu, p. 206.
[5] Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 173.

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Rev. Râhula Sâṅkṛtyâyana does not even divulge his source of information when he tells us that the teacher of Vibhûticandra was 'Śâkyaśrîbhadra, the last heirarch of Vikramaśîlâ'. In the verses written at the end of the MS. of Manorathanandin's gloss, Vibhûticandra, it should be carefully noticed, makes no mention of the name of his teacher, although the teacher is greatly eulogised therein. But the teacher is described as 'Kâśmîra-paiṇḍapâtika', while in the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* Śâkyaśrîbhadra of Kâśmîra is said to have taken refuge in the Jagaddal of Orissa 'after his flight from Otantapurî *Vihâra* when that place was sacked by Bakhtyar Khilji in 1202 A.D.'.[1] A different version, of course, makes it Vikramaśîlâ Vihâra, but these facts do not warrant us to conclude that Śâkyaśrîbhadra (of Kâśmîra) was Vibhûticandra's teacher (who was a *Kâśmîra-paiṇḍapâtika*), nor we are in a position to estimate the value of the independent proof, if there be any such, on which the conclusion might have been based.

A palm-leaf, now in the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, reads that Vibhûticandra went to Tibet (*Bhoṭaṃ gatvâ*), and afterwards stayed for sometime in Nepal (*paścân=Nêpâlataḥ sthitvâ*).[2] That he had actually been in Nepal for some time is proved by the fact that the translation of his *Ârya-Âmogha-pâśa-sâdhana* was made in the Samastha-*Vihâra* of Nepal by he himself and Prajñâvarman of Tibet.[3] On the strength of the evidence of the palm-leaf, therefore, we may accept that he also went to Tibet, whether or not with Śâkyaśrîbhadra.

About Vibhûticandra's date, what is known definitely is that he was either a contemporary of, or came sometime after, Abhayâkara-Gupta, for a great part of the latter's *Ucchuṣma-Jambhala-sâdhana*[4] and also his *Pañca-krama-mata-tîkâ* entitled *Candraprabhâ*[5] were translated by him, and Abhayâkara-Gupta was a contemporary of King Râmapâla, whose reign fell in the latter half of the 11th century and first quarter of the 12th.

To Vibhûticandra, we are told, was exposed the *Saḍanga-Yoga* by Sâbarîśvara,[6] who must, therefore, be Śâbarî or Śabara II. He may be identical with Ajapâlipâda, alias Śâbarîpâda, denominated as *Brâhmaṇa-bhikṣu* and called *Rêvanta-kul-ôdbhava*.[7]

N. N. Das Gupta.

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1 Part I, Index, p. xcvi.
2 *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1937, p. 13.
3 Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 178.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
5 *Ibid.*, II, p. 142.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
7 *Ibid.*, pp. 198 and 200.

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REVIEWS

LA SUBORDINATION DANS LA PROSE VÉDIQUE, Etudes sur le Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa—I, par Armand Minard, pp. 214; Annales de l'Université de Lyon, Troisième Série, Lettres, Fasc. 3, Paris, 1936.

This excellent work is an important contribution to Vedic syntax, not only because of the matter dealt with in it, but also on account of the method followed by the author. The object of the present volume, to be followed by others, is to examine the clauses dependent on *yā́vat, yáthā, yátra, yadā́* and *yádi* in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. By a close examination of a number of crucial passages Dr. Minard at first tries to ascertain the exact semantic value of these words and their syntactical idiosyncracies, and armed with the knowledge gained therefrom he proceeds to examine the relevant passages of the Ś.B. The results thus attained are highly interesting. Thus he observes (§20) that the negative particle *ná* 'tends to descend towards the final and thus approach the verb in a dependent clause; but in the principal clause it finds to go up to the initial'. Was then *ná* a verbal prefix of some sort? But Dr. Minard is too cautious to make any such unwarranted statement. Equally interesting is the observation that *átha* is replaced by *tátaḥ, tátra* or *tárhi* at the beginning of an apodosis containing the negation *ná*, because in such an apodosis *ná* itself occupies the first place and *átha* rather than yielding the pride of place to *ná* would altogether drop out of the picture (§29). The author has made another important discovery in connection with the internal chronology of the 'diptyque'—this unfamiliar term has been used by the author to signify protasis *plus* apodosis—when he lays down that *yā́vat, yátra, yadā́* are used to connect propositions of successive, and not of simultaneous, occurrence (§47). With regard to *yā́vat* the author points out cases of disharmony in mood and tense between the two members of the 'diptyque' and tries to explain them ingeniously on the hypothesis that as *yā́vat* conveys a sense of comparison, the two actions involved need not necessarily refer to the same portion of the duration (§242). Dealing with *yadā́* Dr. Minard rightly rejects Delbrück's dictum that an action expressed in the optative in a clause governed by it should be regarded as referring to the past (§547). By way of criticism it might be said perhaps that the treatment is relentlessly scholastic throughout. But even at the worst that is nothing but erring on the side of caution.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

VERSE INDEX TO THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ, pāda-index compiled by Dr. W. Kirfel, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 45.

This is a modest but useful work calculated to facilitate research on the Bhagavadgītā, the question of whose origin and interpolations has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The index is based on the vulgate text, but the variations of the Ānandāśrama edition and those of the Kashmir recension have been mentioned. As the author says: 'The observation is perhaps interesting, that fifty-four pādas appear twice or repeatedly. The majority of these repetitions is certainly without importance, but some seem to be the last traces of former joints of text.'

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

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WHAT WAS THE ORIGINAL GOSPEL IN 'BUDDHISM'? by Mrs. Rhys Davids, published by the Epworth Press, London, pp. 1–143 with a short Index.

In this book Mrs. Rhys Davids has made clear the ideas about self, spirit, dhamma, the noble eightfold path, knowledge, deliverance, nirvāṇa, jhāna, Buddha, etc. Besides, this book will be very helpful in understanding satipaṭṭhāna (the stations of mindfulness), iddhipādā (steps to psychic power), indriyas (faculties of spiritual sense) and all such abstruse technical terms of Buddhist philosophy. This treatise should serve as a guide to those who desire to have a real understanding of the doctrine of the Buddha. I think the writer's mission to arrive at certain conclusions about 'Buddhism's original message' has been fulfilled to a great extent.

B. C. Law.

MEDIÆVAL JAINISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE, by B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil., published by the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1938.

This book consists of 12 chapters entitled preliminary remarks, royal benevolence, princely patronage, Jaina men of action, women as defenders of the faith, popular support, critical times, Vijayanagara's pledge, state aid to Jainism, Jainism at the provincial courts, Anekāntamata in the Empire, and Jaina celebrities in the Vijayanagara Empire. It contains five illustrations and a serviceable index. The author has taken much pains to trace the history of Jainism and to show the importance of the religion mainly concerning the kingdom of Vijayanagara. He has very ably dealt with the history of toleration in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, and how Jainism was received by the Vijayanagara monarchs and how the cause of Jainism was fostered by them. His account of the Jaina men of action is interesting; but the chapter on 'critical times in which the author has given the causes of the decline of Jainism in the Tamil and Telegu lands, and the contribution of Jainism to the history and culture of the Tamil land, is in many places very uninteresting. On the whole, the historical treatment of the book is noteworthy. Abstruse terms of Jainism ought to have been explained in an appendix in order to give a clear idea of the subject.

B. C. Law.

GUIDE THROUGH THE ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA being a synopsis of the philosophical collection belonging to the Buddhist Pāli Canon followed by an essay on the Paṭicca-Samuppāda by Nyanatilaka, 1st edition, published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, pp. 1–165.

This treatise contains seven sections dealing with the seven books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka viz., Dhammasaṅgaṇī, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna. It furnishes us with a serviceable index of Pāli terms and an appendix in which the author has dealt with the subject of Paṭiccasamuppāda or dependent origination. Throughout the book the author has followed an undesirable method of giving synonyms of Pāli terms without making any attempt to give us a clear idea of the subjects under discussion. A reader is sure to be misled in some places on account of jingling of words and phrases. In our opinion this work will not well serve the purpose for which it is intended. The treatment should have been different. A good presentation of the subject-matter will greatly benefit the reader who is very much interested in Buddhist philosophy. The introduction is well written though it is very brief. We hope that in the future edition of the book, the author will try his utmost to give a clear explanation of the

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most knotty points of Buddhist philosophy. The preliminary remarks given at the outset of each section are useful. A word-for-word meanings of the terms as given by the author will not help the reader in understanding the subject.

B. C. LAW.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA (in Bengali), by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., published by Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, Calcutta, 1345 B.S., pp. 128. Price Re.1-8.

The book under review deals with the life of the Buddha, one of the greatest religious teachers the world has ever produced. The late Pandit S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa's *Buddhadeva* (published in Bengali in 1311 B.S.) is not available in the market. The Bengali reading public should therefore congratulate Dr. Law for the timely publication of this excellent book. At the same time, the learned author may be requested to publish a Bengali version of his interesting work (in English) on the life and teachings of Mahāvīra.

The work under review is divided into nineteen chapters. The last two chapters dealing with *bauddha-dharma o darśana* and *bauddha-saṅgha* are very interesting. We are glad to see that Dr. Law has written in a lucid style and made the subject easily intelligible even to the ordinary reader.

The book contains a useful bibliography and an exhaustive index and also no less than nine excellent plates, which have greatly increased the value of the book.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA, Vol. II: Vedic India, Part I: The Aryan Expansion over India, by V. Rangacharya, M.A., published by The Indian Publishing House, Madras, 1937, pp. xv+556. Price Rs.10 or 15s.

Volume I of Mr. Rangacharya's *Pre-Musalman India*, dealing with the prehistoric background of Indian history, appeared in 1929. The book under review is the first part of Volume II, which the author has now published after eight years of patient labour and study. This part deals with the expansion of the 'Aryans' over India. As we are told, the second part of this volume (about 600 pages), dealing with Vedic culture, will be shortly published. The author has undertaken an exceptionally heavy task which calls for the energy and enthusiasm of a band of scholars. The published portion of Mr. Rangacharya's work shows that he is equal to the task. He must be congratulated for the boldness of the enterprise.

The book under review is divided into six chapters: Ch. I deals with the evolution of Vedic literature, Ch. II with the chronology and historical lessons of the Vedic literature (including the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), Ch. III with the age of the *Rgveda*, Chs. IV and V with the Aryan expansion over (North) India, and Ch. VI with the Aryanization of South India and Ceylon. As a reference book, the work under review, will prove immensely useful to the students of ancient Indian history and culture. Sometimes, however, the author is not quite accurate in his details, e.g., on p. 175 where he says: 'Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of the Dānava king, married Puru'. He is also not quite consistent in some places. On p. 70, he refers to 'Patañjali who lived in the first century before Christ', but on p. 73 he refers to 'the time of Patañjali about 180 B.C.' Personally speaking, I am inclined to take such *Mahābhāṣya* passages as *iha puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ* as *mūrdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*, and to place Patañjali about the end of the first century B.C. or the beginning of the first century A.D. Mr. Rangacharya, moreover,

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appears in some places to rely on very weak arguments, e.g., in dealing with the question of Pāṇini's date (p. 71). He thinks that 'the lack of reference to Buddhism' in Pāṇini's work proves him to be 'pre-Buddhistic'. He even tries to explain away Pāṇini's reference to *śramaṇa* (II, 1, 70), but he forgets that Buddhism was originally a local religion of Eastern India, more or less known in the land between Gaya and Benares, while the great grammarian is traditionally known to have been a native of Sālātura in Gandhāra in the north-western part of India. According to the author, the Yavanas to whose script Pāṇini refers must be the Persians. The suggestion is unsound in my opinion, as the word *yavana* never signifies any other nation than the Greek in references of pre-Christian date. In my paper, *Yavana and Pārasika* (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIV, pp. 34–38), I have shown that the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Pārasikas (Persians) are sometimes mentioned side by side in early Indian literature, and also that the people of North-western India and the Ionians or Greeks knew each other from a period at least as early as the sixth century B.C.

Nevertheless, Mr. Rangacharya's work is undoubtedly a useful publication, and we recommend it to all students of Indian history and culture. It is however to be regretted that the book contains no exhaustive index which would have greatly enhanced its value and usefulness.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, January, 1938.

Toda culture thirty-five years after: an acculturation study by M. B. Emeneau.
The Eastern Island and the Script of Mohenjo Daro by H. Heras.
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THE BUDDHA AS A MASTER MIND

By A. B. KEITH

It is unwise, Sir S. Radhakrishnan assures us,[1] to insist on seeing nihilism or agnosticism in teachings where another explanation is not merely possible but probably more in accordance with the Buddha's ideas and the spirit of the times. It is impossible, it is urged, for any one to have the Buddha's fundamental experience of the deficiency of all things mutable, and therefore of human life in so far as it is occupied with passing things, without the positive experience of an absolute and immutable, as the background against which the emptiness of the contingent and the mutable is apprehended. This claim, however, must be sharply challenged on the score that it is unsupported by argument. There is, it may be asserted, nothing easier for a thinker than to gain from observation the absolute conviction of the worthlessness of human existence, without entertaining the slightest belief in the existence of an immutable. *A priori* we can understand perfectly well how a teacher in the sixth century B.C. in India might arrive at the doctrine that all things terrestrial and celestial were transient, and that the only aim worth striving for was release from a world in which nothing whatever, not even the bliss enjoyed by deities, is abiding. The question is simply whether or not from the texts treated as earliest [2] by Sir S. Radhakrishnan we can deduce an answer favourable to his contention or not. The Buddha's condemnation of the world of experience is claimed to be based on the assumption of the absolute, as in the Advaita Vedānta, but he refused to state it as a ground of the depreciation since it is not a matter of logical proof.[3] His view thus asserted is not supported by any reference to the texts, but in support of it we have the contention that hesitation and diffidence in defining the nature of the supreme seemed proper and natural to the Indian mind. But is there any real authority for this view as normal in the milieu of the Buddha? The Upaniṣads reveal rather a singular number of views of the absolute which show no reticence in definition.[4]

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[1] *Gautama the Buddha* (1938), p. 46.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 14. The view of the early character of the texts taken is open to grave doubt, but it is not necessary to discuss the issue.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[4] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 39f.

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The texts present a view of the teachings of the Buddha which does not accord with that suggested, but suggests rather that the Buddha had no belief on the issue of the absolute. If we accept the value of the Pāli Canon ascribed to it by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, we find a very definite doctrine showing the refusal of the master to enlighten his disciples on the essential doctrine of the fate of the Tathāgata, the man who has attained enlightenment in life, after his physical death. The matter is relegated by the master to the category of the indeterminates, issues on which the master has declined to make any pronouncement. Thus he refuses to instruct Vacchagotta [1] on this issue, and his explanations of his silence to Ānanda do not include the assertion of a personal belief in the absolute which he does not declare because of his inability to establish it by logical reasoning. The excuses are all pragmatical. If he were to assert the continued existence of the Tathāgata, then he would be understood to accept the permanent self of the Upaniṣads; if he were to deny continued existence, he would encourage the view that a man on death, without having undergone purification to attain liberation, is utterly extinguished and so ceases to have experience. Again to assert continued existence would certainly not have the effect of inducing the disciple to accept the fundamental doctrine that all the empirical world is essentially not-self, while to deny existence would have thrown him in confusion, 'My self, did it not previously exist? Now it exists no more'. It is very dubious if any teacher who had definite views would have adopted an attitude so unhelpful. As Sir S. Radhakrishnan naturally recognizes,[2] philosophy is an essential to minds interested in more than the mere matters of the day, and the doctrine of the indeterminates could have no validity for any duration of time. We have in the dialogue with Māluṅkyāputta [3] an assertion in the strongest terms of the refusal of the teacher to touch on the indeterminates. The excuse is that he has made no offer to give instruction on such issues; he is a physician to relieve man from bondage, and knowledge on these issues would not tend towards that end.

We are not bound, and perhaps not even entitled, to go beyond the refusal of the master to teach any doctrine on these points. To assume that he had one but did not care to expound it, is hardly satisfactory, for it suggests that he must have held a doctrine whose exposition would not have helped his fundamental purpose of freeing man from bondage. Had he had a faith which would encourage effort, one may reasonably expect that he would have anticipated

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[1] SN. iv. 400; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 62.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
[3] MN. i. 426.

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his followers in certain schools by setting it forth. His attitude otherwise is inexplicable, for we know from the texts how eager was metaphysical research,[1] and we cannot avoid the conclusion that the master must have been only too ready to set out a doctrine consonant with his admonitions for the conduct of life. The normal conclusion to be drawn is either that he held the view of the annihilation of the Tathāgata, which he feared would hamper efforts to produce regard for the mode of life which he advocated, or that he had failed to achieve even for himself any complete conviction which he felt able to expound to others with assurance and with the ability to make it acceptable. The latter explanation may reasonably be accepted rather than the former, though it may be admitted that the idea of the utter destruction of the Tathāgata on physical death was strongly suggested by the current simile of the death of the enlightened sage, such as the Buddha, as the extinction of the lamp when oil and wick are exhausted as in the *Ratana Sutta*.[2]

We are offered,[3] however, certain reasons for believing that the Buddha held a positive doctrine, though he did not think fit to teach it. (1) His contemporaries were marked by superstition and intense sophistication, and it was difficult to draw a sharp line between the superstitions of the ignorant and the sophistry of the learned. In this confusion the Buddha insisted on an understanding of the facts of human nature and experience, and an avoidance of all speculation and belief on mere authority. But this is plainly no reason for stopping enquiry arbitrarily, when essential issues arise. There is nothing worse than inciting to thought and then by the merest authority stopping research, and, if the Buddha acted as he is represented to have done, he was guilty of using authority in the worst of all ways, that of forbidding enquiry. (2) Each must realize the truth by personal effort, for which end ethical striving was essential, while doctrinal controversies produced hasty tempers and did not lead to a quiet pursuit of truth. Truth is a sacred achievement, not a plaything of the dialectician. Here again the reason is unsatisfactory. The Buddha is virtually represented as discouraging the search for truth, which cannot be achieved without controversy, and inculcating on his disciples the mere following of a line of ideas peculiar to himself. For one who is supposed to have known the truth thus to warn others from the search for it seems peculiarly indefensible. (3) His mission was to interest not merely intellectuals but the common people with great ideas. He was

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1 See the *Brahmajāla Sutta*.
2 *Khuddakapāṭha*, pp. 4, 5; B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 85–7.
3 Sir S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

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anxious to tell them that the royal road was by the practice of the virtues. Granted his desire to encourage the following of the normal virtues of the day by the average man, it affords no excuse for his failure, if he had a scheme of things in his mind which gave rationality to these virtues, to reveal it to his disciples. (4) We are reminded of the gulf between the absolute and the relative, and assured that the Buddha's silence was motived by objection to any personal conceptions of God, which, by declaring the existence in God of all perfections present in creation, have a tendency to substitute faith and worship for works. Instead his scheme insisted on meditation, the reconditioning of the soul, the transforming of its animal inheritance and social heredity.[1] But this motive would have no application to the teaching of a doctrine which, like that of the greatest sages of the Upaniṣads, asserted an absolute but not a personal God. Yet we have excellent and deliberate evidence for the view that he declined to deal with the vital issue of the condition after death of the Tathāgata.

The view that the Buddha had failed to achieve settled convictions as to metaphysical questions, and was therefore content to teach a faith which essentially means the practising of mental states productive in this life of ecstasy, appears therefore the only view which is consistent with the doctrine of the indeterminates. There is nothing whatever unreasonable in this doctrine, nor is it difficult to see how it could be accepted by the Buddha. There is early recognition of ecstatic states even in the *Ṛgveda*, and we may readily believe that it was soon appreciated that the production of these states was the most assured form of happiness which man could achieve, for this is the character of mystics all over the world. Nor was it difficult for the Buddha to gain the conviction that the attainment of the capacity of such states was a matter of incessant practice and striving on the part of the aspirant, or that such capacity was conditional on the avoidance of these actions stigmatized as immoral by contemporary religious and ethical thought. He differed in this point of view in no essential from the contemporary Brahmin schools, but he drew the unwise conclusion that the life of meditation could be carried on without the preliminary experience of studentship and the life of a householder. The error of the Buddha in this regard is excused[2] on the ground that the enemies to be fought against in his time included ritualists and worldlings, but it remains a grave admission that the Buddha failed in the essential duty of

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[1] Sir S. Radhakrishnan ignores the Buddhist demand for faith; B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff.

[2] Sir S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

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a philosopher to see life whole, and not in one aspect only. It is plain that his doctrines, if fully followed out, would have condemned to annihilation the whole world of useful activity.

We are, however, assured [1] that the Buddha pointed out the reality of Nirvāṇa, of an absolute self and of an absolute reality which he chose to call Dharma. We have already seen that some at least of his disciples held that he refused to point out anything of the sort, and that this is in itself very probable. It is a different thing to admit that in his school there developed, possibly in his lifetime, a section which held very different views, and accepted the fundamental truth of the absolute as conceived by the Upaniṣads. If we accept the Buddha as an agnostic, still we must admit that it was hopeless to suppose that this attitude would be accepted unhesitatingly by men who had to face the views of the teachers of the Upaniṣads, and had only the silence of the master to forbid enquiry. To reconcile the accounts given in our sources, it is the most plausible explanation to hold that the master himself left the issues undecided, and that his followers felt impelled to go beyond the bounds of his teaching and to find a place for their conceptions of reality in his system. If he, from the point of view of experience and common knowledge, repudiated the real value of the world of everyday life, the doctors of his school may well have founded their contempt on the more secure basis formed by the metaphysics of Brahminism. They may also have seen therein the solution of the most difficult question of the future of the Tathāgata after physical death. Utter extinction could not be popular, and instead the way to conceive of his state was plainly afforded by the adoption of one side of the eschatology of the Upaniṣads then current. But this doctrine we cannot ascribe to the historical Buddha with any confidence or even plausibility. Nor is it normally clearly announced. We may, however, infer that it was held in such a case as the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* [2] that the essence of the enlightened one was beyond nature, and even in this life inconceivable, which implies that there is much more in the world of reality than the finite matters which are denied to be the soul. In like manner we may hold that the doctrine 'This is not mine; I am not this; this is not myself', which has a close parallel in the Sāṁkhya,[3] implies recognition of something other than the empirical ego. But the argument must not be pressed too far. The Buddha's demand [4] that we should have the self as our light (*attadīpa*) or the self as our refuge (*attasaraṇa*) should not be pressed into an affirmation of a transcendental

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[2] MN. i. 140ff.
[3] *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, 64.
[4] Contrast Geiger, *Dhamma*, p. 79.

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reality, when a simple meaning insisting on self-help is so natural. Nor again can we derive any argument from the assertion of Sāriputta [1] in his discussions with Sāti that the Tathāgata is declared neither to be the five aggregates nor different from them. That could be interpreted simply and empirically without implication of the transcendental. In the same way the famous doctrine of the burden-bearer [2] does not carry us to the length of a transcendental self, but merely shows the adaptation in Buddhism by certain schools of the popular conception of the Jīva for the purpose of explaining the nature of transmigration. On the other hand, when we actually have the phrase *brahmabhūta*,[3] we must recognize the adoption of the conception of the identification of the Ātman and the Brahman, which is pure Brahminism. But that is an incidental, not central doctrine, nor can we accept the assertion that to become divine is our goal.

The doctrine of Nirvāṇa as applied to the living clearly involves no metaphysical implication of an absolute spirit, but that may be conjectured from the attitude of the Buddha as reported in certain cases where he does not refuse all illumination. In the conversation between king Pasenadi and the nun Khemā, while the question as to the existence of the Tathāgata after death is not answered, we learn that the nature of the Tathāgata is immeasurable, like the sands of the Ganges or the drops of water in the ocean.[4] Similarly Sāriputta [5] insists in discussion with Yamaka that the latter does not understand the nature of the Tathāgata and still less can he make assertions regarding him after death. Again the simile from fire [6] offers possibility of another view of Nirvāṇa. We may think not of the absolute disappearance of fire, when fuel is burned out, but of the return of the visible flame to the condition of potentiality whence it has emerged through the presence of material conditions. The fact that the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* [7] has this idea permits us to accept it as one easily to be adapted in Buddhist thought. But we have no ground for ascribing this view to the Buddha himself.

In the *Udāna* again we find a declaration of the existence of something, a sphere where the elements are not, nor infinity of space or intelligence, nor perception nor absence of perception, neither this world nor that, without motion or rest, death nor birth, without stability, without procession, without a footing, which is the end of sorrow.[8] Here we have no doubt a distinct reflexion of the ideal of the Brahman, but it stands in no organic relation with the more

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[1] MN. i. 256ff.
[2] SN. iii. 25.
[3] Geiger, p. 78.
[4] SN. iv. 374.
[5] SN. iii. 109ff.
[6] MN. i. 487.
[7] i. 13; Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[8] viii. 10.

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characteristic side of the Buddhist philosophy, and it can hardly seriously be suggested that the *Udāna* preserves any early utterance of the Buddha.[1]

Again it is difficult to accept the view[2] that for the Buddha Dharma or righteousness is the driving principle of the universe. We are assured that in it we have a pervasive principle which works towards moral perfection, the ideal to which we finite individuals contribute, each within his own limited sphere. The Buddha, we learn, tells us that the universe is not indifferent to our ethical striving. The central reality of Dharma backs us in our endeavours to achieve a better than what is. There is a reality beyond the empirical succession that responds to the confidence of those that trust it. But is there for this conception any real evidence? If we are told[3] that the absolute for the Buddha is the law of righteousness, the meaning of history, the redemption of all creation, we naturally seek confirmation of this conception in the texts. But it can hardly be said that it is present therein, nor do we find Dharma laid down as the driving principle in the universe. It replaces in part the Upaniṣad idea of Brahman, which is normally without any implication of driving power, and which stands far above morality which belongs to the empirical sphere only. The Dhammavipassanā involves insight into the causal sequence of the world, but we are told nothing of it as appreciation of righteousness. The point is important, because it would have been a matter of the highest consequence if the Buddha had really enthroned righteousness[4] as the active principle in the universe. We find in the Mahāyāna school the development of ideas of that kind as well as other divergent conceptions, but in the texts relied upon as probably expressing the early views of the Buddha himself there is no such doctrine. The most striking account[5] of Dharma as righteousness occurs simply in respect of the position of the king, and it echoes the like doctrine in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[6] If the Buddha had conceived of true insight as the capacity to see all things as a manifestation of righteousness in the universe, then the language used of him might be accepted as just. But the term Dhammavipassanā has no such full meaning. It denotes only insight into things and their

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1 Cf. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, ii. 66–8; B. C. Law, *Pāli Literature*, i. 41.

2 Sir S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 37ff.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4 For the real uses of Dhamma see Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 6ff. For the nature of Nirvāṇa see La Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges Linossier*, pp. 329ff. He is hostile to the view that the Buddhists accepted the Brahman doctrine.

5 AN. iii. 149f. See B. C. Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 65.

6 i. 4. 14.

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nature,[1] and there is no hint in it, or in any of the canonical texts, that the Buddha conceived of a universe in which the moral law stood highest. We find in him no serious attempt to explain philosophically the principles of morality; instead his conception of morality is merely of something ancillary to the attainment of true insight, very much as it ranked in the Vedānta and in other philosophical systems. Sir S. Radhakrishnan admits [2] that his conception of Dhamma as the absolute reality was not sufficiently concrete for practical purposes. In fact it suffered from the fundamental difficulty that, as presented in the texts deemed to represent best his personal views, the essential problem of giving a rational explanation of human life is left unsolved. To judge from these texts, the Buddha lacked full appreciation of anything save the mystic side of man's spirit, and his tenets are devoted essentially to developing that faculty in comparative indifference to the other purposes of human life. It is not surprising that in its developments the Buddhism which has made such large conquests over the hearts of men has taken on very varying aspects, and has developed a much more catholic outlook on life.

If we seek to ascribe to the Buddha any specifically new doctrine characteristic of a master mind, we meet great difficulty. The idea of causality in the field of moral action was apparently already well developed in the Brahminical schools, and the explanations suggested of the mode of ending transmigration are without cogent character.[3] The Buddha's acceptance of transmigration was clearly traditional and uncritical,[4] and his inability to present a logical mode of terminating it followed from his failure to subject the conception to a rigid criticism. This fact accords well enough with the view that he was an agnostic, as he is shown to have been by certain early texts.

If we attempt to isolate the element in the Buddha's teaching which secured him success, it may be that we should find it in his organization on sane lines of monastic communities, in which the members were not asked to engage in asceticism carried to excesses, but were afforded opportunities for community life and taught to achieve mental conditions of essentially attractive character by systematic exercises destined to the sublimation of the mind.[5] If this is the case, then the Buddha may justly take rank with the great founders of religious communities, men of practical rather than theoretical insight.

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[1] Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 71.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
[3] La Vallée Poussin, *La morale Bouddhique*, pp. 192ff.
[4] For some scholastic guesses see Poussin, p. 6.
[5] La Vallée Poussin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71ff.

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Another view, however, is possible, and not incompatible with the preceding. The Buddha's success may have been due to the fact that he demanded faith and affection from his devotees, and in return assured them of the certainty of paradise and ultimately of Nirvāṇa. That side of Buddhist doctrine seems to be as early as any other aspect. Professor La Vallée Poussin [1] has justly insisted on the early evidence of this doctrine in the Nikāyas,[2] and it is to pass over a vital aspect of the teaching of the Buddha to ignore, as Sir S. Radhakrishnan does, the fact that faith in the Buddha is essential to salvation. If we accept the authority of the texts, we must admit that the reverence shown to the Buddha was not, as he suggests,[3] the outcome merely of the respect felt for the teacher's sympathy with humanity. We cannot overlook the fact that our earliest records [4] show that the teachers of the faith were deeply convinced of the superhuman character and attainments of the Buddha, of the fact that he had revealed the way to immortality and the end of misery, and that it was by accepting his teaching and obeying his Dhamma that men alone would achieve the end of the unhappiness of transmigration. It is easy to see how powerful his appeal could be, when to the laity, who had no desire to undertake the pursuit of final liberation through strict disciplines, he promised, as does Aśoka in due course, the joys of heaven through belief in him and the following out of a simple moral code, while to those more spiritually minded he gave assurance of the end of the unhappiness bound up with empirical life. We may readily believe that the historic Buddha felt himself much more than a mere teacher among others, and that he was as fully convinced as any of his hearers that he was much more than a mere man. The doctrines of the Mahāyāna are probably to be traced in large measure to an essential aspect of the teachings of Gautama himself, and are not to be disregarded as an accretion to a much simpler and more rational belief in which religious devotion played no part. Sir S. Radhakrishnan himself recognizes [5] the complete error of T. H. Huxley in conceiving the views of the Buddha as a rationalism, and he admits the 'superstition' of the age. The truth is that mankind in India and elsewhere strives after Gods, and that the doctrines of the Buddha offered a faith which could, because it made central faith in the Buddha himself, successfully rival the current tendency to find salvation in devotion to Śiva or Viṣṇu or some

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. xvi, 219ff.
[2] MN. i. 142; DN. ii. 140; *Dhammapada*, 288.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 50.
[4] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 27ff., 208ff.; Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

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other God. The efficacy of his teaching, on one side, we may ascribe to its essential base in religious belief and to the fact that he offered something superior to blind faith in deities, whose legendary histories were by no means marked by strict morality. It is significant of the character of his appeal that in Burma to-day members of the legislature from time to time undertake monastic vows for the purpose of acquiring religious merit, though they intend to resort shortly to secular life, strengthened no doubt by their spiritual experience. The doctrine of the Buddha attained a popularity denied to that of the Vedānta because, unlike the latter, it presented the element of faith from the outset as an essential part of the teaching, and we have no reason to suggest that this demand for faith was not part of its original character, and indeed of its very essence. With the idea of the necessity of faith is closely bound up that of the grace of the Buddha in consenting to teach, and already in the *Mahāvagga*[1] the history of the conversion of Roja, the Malla, shows the Buddha conceived as exercising the power of his spirit of friendship, Maitrī, to induce him to seek enlightenment at his hands.

We need not, therefore, hesitate to ascribe to the Buddha the claim of being a master mind, but on grounds which are not those asserted by Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

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[1] vi. 36. 4. We have here the germ of Mahāyāna conceptions.

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MATERIALS FOR A DHĀTUPĀṬHA OF INDO-ARYAN—II

By S. M. KATRE

(*Continued from Vol. IV, No. 4, p.* 493)

31. √ABHR

Sk. *abhra gatyarthaḥ* (Ks. i, 587; Cv. i, 190): *abhrati* errs or wanders about.

Pā. *abbha gatiyaṁ* (Sd. 618): *abbhati* moves.

32. √AM

Sk. *ama gatyādiṣu* (Ks. i, 493; Cv. i, 155: *gatau*); *ama roge* (Ks. x, 188): *amati* goes; serves; sounds; fixes; is pernicious or dangerous;—*āmayati* is afflicted or sick.

Pā. *ama gamane* (Dhp. 228), *yāte* (Dhm. 323): *gatimhi* (Sd. 662); *ama roga-gatādisu* (Dhm. 846), *roge* (Sd. 1569): *amati* goes; *amati, amayati* is sick or ill.

Pk. *amaï* moves, goes; sounds; eats; afflicts; is afflicted;—cf. *ama gaccāīsu* (Vise. 3453), *ama roge vä* (Vise. 3454).

33. √AMB

Sk. *abi śabde* (Ks. i, 403; Cv. i, 402): *ambati* goes; *ambate* sounds.

Pā. *amba śadde* (Dhp. 202), *amba sadde ca assāde tāyane* (Dhm. 287: v. l. *abi*), *abi sadde* (Sd. 610): *ambati* sounds; tastes; protects.

34. √AMBH

Sk. *abhi śabde* (Ks. i, 411): *ambhate* sounds.

Pā. *abhi Sadde* (Sd. 625): *ambhati* sounds.

35. √AY [1]

Sk. *aya gatau* (Ks. i, 503; Cv. i, 424): *ayate* goes;—cf. √I.

Pā. *aya gamanattho* (Dhp. 231), *gatimhi* (Dhm. 331), *gatiyaṁ* (Sd. 687): *ayati* moves; cf. *ayanam* going; road.

Pk. *ayaï*; cf. under 14. √AJ.

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[1] Where possible I shall give the meanings found in the *Nighaṇṭus* (N.) and in Yāska's *Nirukta* (Y.) as recorded by Prof. Bruno Liebich in his *Materialien zum Dhātupāṭha*, Heidelberg, 1921. For this we have *ayate gatikarmā* N. II, 14.

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36. √ARK

Sk. *arka stavane* (Ks. x, 102): *arkayati, arkayate* praises; heats; —cf. *arkáḥ* a ray, flash of lightning; see under √ARC below.

37. √ARGH

Sk. *arghir pūjāyām* (Ks. i, 776 *a*): *arghati* is worth or of value, deserves, merits;—cf. √ARH below.

Pā. *aggha agghane* (Dhp. 32, Dhm. 39): *agghati* is worth, equals; *agghāpeti* values.

Pk. *agghaï* is worth, merits, deserves; also given as a dhv. for √RĀJ (Hc. 4, 100): shines, flashes.

38. √ARC [1]

Sk. *arca pūjāyām* (Ks. i, 219; x, 266; Cv. i, 52): *árcati* shines; praises; honours; adorns; (exceptionally *arcāmahe*);—*arcayati, arcayate* causes to shine; honours, treats with respect.

Pā. *acca pūjāyaṁ* (Dhp. 27, Sd. 136), *accane* (Dhm. 54);—*acca pūjāyaṁ* (Dhp. 544, Dhm. 760, Sd. 1341): *accati* honours, praises, worships;—*acceti* honours, worships.

Pk. Amg. *accei* worships, honours.

39. √ARJ

Sk. *arja arjane* (Ks. i, 242; Cv. i, 65); *pratiyatne* (Ks. x, 186): *arjati* procures, acquires; *arjate* goes; stands firm; is of good health; *arjayati, arjayate* obtains, procures, acquires.

Pā. *ajja ajjane* (Dhp. 73, Dhm. 87, Sd. 189);—caus. *ajja ajjane* (Dhp. 548, Dhm. 769), *patisajjane* (Sd. 1358): *ajjati* gets, obtains;—*ajjeti, ajjayati* (Sd.) acquires, gains; endeavours, exerts.

Pk. *ajjaï* acquires, gains (Hc. 4, 108).

40. √ARTH

Sk. *artha upayācñāyām* (Ks. x, 357) *yācñāyām* (Cv. x, 100): *arthayate* desires, strives to obtain, wishes.

Pā. *attha yācane* (Dhp. 583; Dhm. 815); *yācanāyaṁ* (Sd. 1471): *attheti* requests,* *atthayati* (Sd. 1471), cf. *patthayati*; *atthāpeti* (denom. of *attha-*), *atthāpayati* instructs about what is good or profitable.

Pk. Amg. *atthayae* seeks, desires, wishes.

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[1] *arcati arcatikarmā* N. III, 14.

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41. √ARD[1]

Sk. *arda gatau yācane ca* (Ks. i, 56), *gatau* (Cv. i, 18): *arda hiṁsayām* (Ks. x, 285): *ardati* (Naigh. *árdati*) goes, moves; dissolves; hurts, torments; begs, asks for; *ardayati* stirs up, shakes; torments; kills, destroys, hurts.

Pā. *adda gati-yācanesu* (Dhp. 157), *yācana-yātrādisu* (Dhm. 227), *gatiyaṁ yācane ca* (Sd. 441); *adda hiṁsāyaṁ*: *addati* moves; begs; *addiyati* is worried or afflicted; feels loathing;—*addeti, addayati* (Sd. 441) torments, cf. *addita-* mfn. afflicted, pained; *addanam* tormenting, disturbing.

Pk. Amg. *addaï, addei* hurts, afflicts, injures.

42. √ARB

Sk. *arba gatau* (Ks. i, 442; Cv. i, 143): *arbati* goes; hurts (see √ARV below).

Pā. *abba gamane* (Dhm. 290), (*gatiyaṁ*) *hiṁsāyaṁ ca* (Sd. 590), *gumbane* (Dhm. 294): *abbati* moves, goes; hurts, kills; clusters.

43. √ARV

Sk. *arva hiṁsāyām* (Ks. i, 615; Cv. i, 201): *arvati* hurts, kills.

Pā. *abbati*, see under prec.;—the root *abbeti* enjoys, feeds upon, is artificial, created for explaining the word *gandhabba* (Ved. *gandharvá-*).

44. √ARH

Sk. *arha pūjāyām* (Ks. i, 776; x, 192; Cv. i, 258): *árhati*, rarely *arhate*: deserves, merits; is worth; is able; *arhayati* honours; *árhat* deserving.

Pā. *araha pūjāyaṁ* (Dhp. 330; Dhm. 487; Sd. 1013): *arahati* deserves, merits; is worthy of;—cf. *arahant*.

Pk. Amg. JM.N.Mg. *arihaï* is worth, merits; Pk. *aruhaï* (cf. *aruhasi, aruhamāṇa*);—cf. Amg. JS. *arahaṁta-, arihaṁta-*. Pk. *aruhaṁta-*

45. √AL

Sk. *ala bhūṣaṇa-paryāpti-nivāraṇeṣu* (Ks. i, 548): *alati* adorns; is able or competent; prevents (cf. *álam*: *áram* ind. enough, sufficient).

Pā. *ala kalile* (Dhm. 398), *ali bandhane* (Dhm. 402); *ala bhūsane* (Sd. 761), 'keci pan' ettha *ala bhūsana-pariyāpana-vāraṇesū* ti

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[1] *ardati gatikarmā* N. II, 14; *ardayati Vadhakarmā* N. II, 19.

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dhātum paṭhanti' (Sd. p. 434, line 19-20 under root 761): *alati* sounds, counts; binds; adorns; prevents, hinders.

46. AV [1]

Sk. *ava rakṣaṇa-gati [Kānti]-prīti-tṛpty-avagama-praveśa-śravaṇa-svāmy-artha-yācana-kriyecchādipty-avāpty-āliṅgana-hiṃsādāna-bhāga-vṛddhiṣu* (Ks. i, 631), *rakṣaṇe* (Cv. i, 208): *ávati* drives, impels; promotes, favours; satisfies; accepts; leads to; likes; protects, guards; governs;—caus. (only *āvayat, āvayas*) consumes, devours;—cf. *ávaḥ* favour.

Pā. *ava rakkhaṇe* (Dhp. 283; Dhm. 413), *pālane* (Sd. 842): *avati* protects.

Pk. Amg. *avaṁtu* (cf. **avaï*) let them protect.

47. √AŚ

Sk. (*a*) *aśū* [2] *vyāptau* (Ks. v, 18; Cv. v, 24): Ved. *aśnoti*, Sk. *aśnute* reaches, arrives; gains, obtains; visits; masters; offers; enjoys; pervades, penetrates; accumulates.—(*b*) *aśa bhojane* (Ks. ix, 51; Cv. ix, 40): *aśnâti* eats, consumes; *āśayati* causes to eat, feeds; *áśanam* eating, *aśanāyâ, aśanâyā* f. hunger, *aśitá-* mfn. eaten, *aśitṛ́-* an eater.

Pā. (*a*) *asu vyāpane* (Sd. 1224): *asunāti, assu: pervades*;—(*b*) *asa adane* (Dhp. 292; Dhm. 430), *asati* eats, enjoys;—*asa bhojane* (Dhp. 506; Sd. 1259), *bhakkhaṇe* (Dhm. 730): *asanāti* eats, consumes; *asnāti, asnātu*, etc.; **añhati*, cf. *añhamāna-* eating.

Pk. *aṇhai, aṇhāi* eats, consumes; enjoys (:Pā. **añhati*); (*a*) *asaï, asae* pervades.—(*b*) *asaï* eats, consumes, enjoys.

48. √AṢ

Sk. *aṣati* (Ks. i, 934 *b*), *aṣate* goes, moves; shines; takes or receives;—cf. √AS (*a*) below.

49. √AS

Sk. (*a*) *asa gati-dīpty-ādāneṣu* (Ks. i, 934), *gatau* (Cv. i, 608): *asati, asate* moves, goes; shines; receives, takes;—cf. *aṣ* above.

(*b*) *asa bhuvi* (Ks. ii, 56; Cv. ii, 25): *ásti* is; exists; abides; happens; becomes.

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[1] *avati gatikarmā* N. II, 14; *avater gatyarthasya* Y.I. 17; *avatir gatikarmā* Y. X, 20.

[2] *aśnute, aśat, āṣṭa, ānaśe, ānaṭ vyāptikarmā* N. II, 18; *āśiṣaḥ adhyeṣaṇākarmā* N. III, 21.

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(*c*) *asu kṣepaṇe* (Ks. iv, 100; Cv. iv, 49): *ásyati* throws, casts; drives or frightens away; *ásabam* throwing, sending, a shot.

Pā. (*a*) *asa* (*gatiyaṁ*) *dity-ādānesu ca* (Sd. 956): *asati* moves; shines; receives.

(*b*) *asa bhuvi* (Dhp. 373, Dhm. 600): *atthi, asi, ·asmi, amhi, santi, smase*, etc.; part. med. *samāna*.

(*c*) *asa khepane* (Dhp. 453, Dhm. 693); *asu khepe* (Sd. 1189): *assati, nirassati, issāso*, etc. in the sense of throwing, shooting, casting.

Pk. (*a*) not recorded.

(*b*) *atthi, assi, aṁsi*, etc.; part. med. *samāṇa-*.

(*c*) *assai* throws, cf. *assa-, āsa* (Sh. *āsyàm* mouth).

50. √AH

Sk. *Chandasy- aha vyāptau* (Ks. v, 26): *ahnoti* pervades or occupies.

Notes on Pāli and Prakrit roots not given above.

Pā. *acchati* is, remains, etc.: Pk. *acchaï* remains, sits, has been compared to Sk. *ɣechati*,[1] and also to Sk. *āste* (cf. *āsa upavesane*, Sd. 973: *āsati, acchati*), but is more nearly related to Sk. *ākṣeti*, see Turner,[2] Nepali Dictionary, s.v. *chanu*.

Pā. *atho pi aṇḍa aṇḍatthe* (Dhm. 158): only to explain the genesis of Pā. *aṇḍa-* egg. (Cf. Kacc-v 665 (Mmd).)

Pā. *anuvidhā anukaraṇe* (Sd. 1148): *anu-vidhiyyati* imitates; *anu-vidhï-yati* follows < *anu*+*vidhā* (i.e. *vi*+√*dhā*). See under √DHA below.

Pā. *antarārati* (v.l. *santarārati*) interrupts < denom. of *antara-*, cf. Sk. *antar-ayati* comes between (through *antár* and *ayati*). Form given in Kacc-v 441.

Pā. *appoti*, see under √ĀP below.

Pā. *aticchati* passes along: Amg. *aïcchaï*, is after the analogy of *ati-gacchati*:—*gata-*: *gacchati* :: *ita-*: *icchati*, cf. CPD., p. 80.

Pk. Amg. *aṁbāḍei, aṁbāḍi(ẏ)a-* anoints; rejects, despises; reproaches, scolds. Cf. Sk. *āmrātaḥ, āmrātakaḥ* the hog-pum: Pa. *ambāṭako*, Pk. *aṁbāḍaga-, aṁbāḍaẏa-, *aṁbāḍa-*, whence denom. in the sense of sourness (cf. *āmla-*), acidity, acid speech, etc.; cf. Koṅkaṇī nx. *āṁbaḍṇī* driving away, Marāṭhī *āṁbaḍṇẽ* to drive, beat.

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[1] Pischel § 480.

[2] See also his 'Sanskrit *ākṣeti* and Pali *acchati* in Modern Indo-Aryan', *Bull. S.O.S.* VIII, 1936, pp. 795–812, wherein he discusses the previous suggestions of the origin of √*acch-* (>√*sthā-*, √*gam-*, √*ɣ-*, *ās-*, *as-*) as well, with full bibliographical indications.

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Pk. *agghavaï* (Hc. 4, 169) as a dhv. for *pūrayati* fills, fulfils, cf. *agghavi(y)a-* filled up, completed: Marāṭhī *avghā* all, the whole, *āghā*, *āghvā* all, entire, Koṅkaṇi nx. *avghā* all, whole; whatever. Cf. Pk. *uggha-vaï* (v.l. for above, Hc. 4, 169).

Pk. *agghāḍai* (dhv. for *pūrayati*, Hc. 4, 169) fills; cf. Sk. lex. *āghrāta-* satiated, *āghrāṇam* satiety, whence Pk. fulfilment, completion, filling.

Pk. *atthāi*, *atthāe*, *atthāaṁti*, part. *atthāaṁta-* setting < Sk. *ástam éti* sets: Pā. *attham-eti*.

Pk. *appāhaï* teaches; advises, gives information < Sk. *ā-prārthayati*, see Pischel § 286.

Pk. *abbhiḍai*, cf. *bhiḍai* meets, has given rise to many words in the modern Indo-Aryan languages, see Turner-N.D., s.v. *bhirnu*, 478 a 9–17; connected with I-A. **bhiṭa-*, **bhīṭa-*, **bhiṭṭa-*, and **bheṭṭa-*.

Pk. *abbhuttaï* (dhv. for *snāti*, Hc. 4, 14; and for *pra-* √DĪP-, Hc. 4, 153) bathes; brightens. In the sense of a bath, cf. √AÑJ above and √UKṢ, √UÑCH below; whence extension to polish, brightness in the second dhv.

Pk. *allaï*, cf. *o-allaṁti* (dhv. for √NAM according to PSM, p. 93) is connected with *ava+*calyate*.

Pk. *allivaï* offers (dhv. for *arpayati*, Hc. 4, 39) < Sk. **ālipati*, see Pischel, §§ 196, 485.

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THE VAISHNAVA CULT IN INDIA

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri

I. *Introductory*

The search for eternal immortal divine bliss by India has been of a varied character. But the search which has persisted right through her spiritual history is the search through the way of devotion (*Bhakti Mārga*). Devotion may be towards any aspect of Godhead, but in mediæval and modern India it has centred round Vishnu and Siva. We have discussed the Saiva schools of Hinduism elsewhere and propose to deal here with the Vaishnava schools of Hinduism.

Though the Hindu religion is often said to be polytheistic and its pantheon is a crowded one, yet it is well-known that it realized the gods as aspects of the Supreme Being and that it is hence monotheistic. Nay, it is equally well-known that it realized and taught Godhead in its impersonal aspect as well as in its personal aspect. Thus we must know the entire gamut of spiritual realization in India if we are to understand Hinduism aright. The Veda itself reduced the number of gods to thirty-three and then to three and then to one and then to the Absolute by a process of analysis as well as by a process of intuition. The Trimurthis themselves are sometimes described as three Beings and sometimes as a three-faced Being.

The Vaishnava cult, like the Saiva cult, has its roots in the Vedas, though its blossoming is in the Agamas and the Tantras. The statement in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka that Agni is the lowest of the gods and Vishṇu is the highest (agnir devānam avamo vishṇuh prathamah) shows this truth. The Purusha Sookta specially exalts Godhead in the Vishnu aspect. In the Chandogya Upanishad the Dahara Vidya relates to the worship of the lotus-eyed deity manifest in the solar orb. There are many other Upanishads devoted to the glorification and adoration of Vishnu and of his incarnations and especially of his incarnations as Narasimha and Rāma and Krishṇa.

The cult known as the Bhāgawata or the Pañcharatra or the Sātwata cult is one of the main tributaries of Hinduism and has been flowing from the very earliest times. It took its stand on the aspect of *sattwa* which includes non-injury, harmony, happiness, insight, and love. It stressed emotion rather than intellect or

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conduct. Intellect and conduct were no doubt important and even indispensable but they must be subordinated to emotion.

II. *The Key-ideas in the Veda*

The Rig Veda itself refers to Sraddhā in X, 15 (Sraddhām Devāh yajamanah upāsate). The Sukla Yajurveda says that it is Sraddhā (faith) that leads up to Truth (Sraddhayā satyam āpyate). The Sāma Veda says that Sraddhā is the mother and Mantra is the father (Sraddhā mātā manuh pitā). The Mahābhārata says that Sraddhā itself is the great God (Daivatam hi mahat sraddhā—Santiparva, chapter LIX). Sraddhā and bhakti and dhyāna go together. The Kaivalya Upanishad says that we must know God by their aid (Sraddhābhakti jnana yogād avaihi). These words along with the words Karma and Yajna and Tapas and Yoga and Prapathi and Tyāga and Jnana form the key-words of the Hindu religion so far as Sādhanas are concerned. From the point of view of the soul and its goal of Godhead the key-words are Atman, Purusha, Deva, Iswara, Sakti, Maya, Prakriti, Lila, Dayā, Mukti, and Brahman.

III. *The Bhāgawata*

The Bhāgawata is the supreme scripture of devotion and is the source of all the later manifestations of Bhakti in India. Its greatness consists in its power of fusion or synthesis and its burning fervour of faith and devotion. It says that the Lord is called Brahma, Paramâtma, and Bhagawan—thus combining the concepts of the Absolute and the Immanent and the Transcendent aspects of God. The Lord is formless and yet has forms. Supreme self-determination belongs to Him and to Him alone. All other bodies are made of sensuous matter but His body is aprākrita or supersensuous. Whatever body is assumed by Him, He is infinite and eternal Satchidānanda. The North Indian school of Vaishnava Philosophy says that He has got Swarupa or Parā Sakti, Tatastha or Jīva Sakti, and Bahiranga or Māyā Sakti corresponding to the orb and the rays and the reflections of the Sun. It says further that the Swarupa Saktis of Bhagawan are Sandhini and Samvid and Hlādini or Rasa.

IV. *The Bhakti Sutras*

Mr. E. T. Sturdy says in his introduction to the *Bhakti Sutras of Narada*: 'One of the current objections which passes freely amongst people who have not inquired for themselves, but who through bias for some particular religion or cult are anxious to throw discredit

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upon other creeds, is that the Indian religions and philosophies show marvellous ingenuity but no heart, no love, such as Christ taught. . . . . One need only consider that the wants of the human heart are everywhere the same to feel convinced that no system of religion belonging to so highly civilized, sensitive and emotional a race could omit the doctrine of love, the doctrine of the heart, as the complement to the doctrine of the understanding'. It took a long time for the Western mind to realize this simple truth. It is clear that the Hindu doctrine of Bhakti was the earlier birth and that the current of devotion flowed from East to West rather than from West to East. Mr. Sturdy says: 'Bhakti Yoga then, the "Doctrine of Salvation by Love and Devotion" will everywhere be found permeating Indian thought. There is no need to try and account for its derivation by forced processes from a belated Christian doctrine of faith, which found its way into India in some way or other. It is far more probable that the Indian doctrine of love found its way to Judaea, perhaps through Buddhist priests who wandered far and wide, in the reign of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka, and by his direction to Judaea, Alexandria, etc. for details as to which the Asoka inscriptions can be studied'.

Another important feature to bear in mind is that the Bhakti Sādhana is, like all the Hindu religious Sādhanas, a means of realization. The West has hardly realized the need of *anubhava* (realization). Mr. Sturdy—to quote again from his admirable introduction to the Nārada Bhakti Sutras—says: 'The aspiration to realization (*anubhūti*) hardly enters the minds of modern Western people. So far are we from any kind of genuine devotion that the thought of such a thing is strange and startling to us. Yet what can any system be which does not point clearly to *realization as attainable here and now*? . . . . In these many methods to realization the Eastern mind for ages has been intensely practical. In them the Western mind has become hopelessly unpractical'.

This significant stress on realization is what distinguishes the Hindu religious mind and makes it unique in every way. In India philosophy and religion have never had any divorce or judicial separation but have been one and the same. The Hindu doctrine of Bhakti is thus more than, and different from, the Christian doctrine of faith and even the Christian doctrine of love. It is no doubt true that the Christian mystics have by means of their inner experience lifted the Christian doctrine to lofty heights of self-realization. But it is Hindu thought that has stressed very clearly the need for that inner alchemy by which the world is transmuted into Godhead and the soul is made one with the Oversoul here and now. Mr. Sturdy emphasizes the same truth in a clear and striking way:

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'It is not implied that modern Christianity holds out no hope of realization, but it sounds far off, and in Protestantism especially points out no definite systematic and graduated steps. Too much is left to be accomplished through mere dying, since it offers no chances by being born again in this world; but can dying teach any more than sleeping? Do we wake any wiser than we dropped asleep? There is only one kind of dying which is effective, that is dying during life: the change of bodies is merely incidental, and alters nothing except surroundings'.

The great value of the Bhakti Sūtras lies in the fact that they are as intimately connected with the monistic system of thought as with the dualistic systems of thought. Indeed we may say of them in the words of the Gita; Mayi sarvan idam protam sutre maniganāh iva (All this is strung on me as precious gems are strung on a string). But as the stringing of the stones means the piercing of their hard layers by a hole made by a diamond pin (to adapt a famous line in Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa—manau vajrasamutkeerne sutrasyevasthi me gathih), even so the Bhakti Sūtras form a diamond pin piercing through the hardness of the systems so as to enable them to attain proximity and harmony and unity. Mr. Sturdy says: 'Throughout these three divisions (Duality, Non-duality with a distinction, and Non-duality) runs Bhakti, love and devotion, which by giving them their fire makes them living systems. Consequently various books have been written adapting Bhakti to these three views of the doctrine of the Upanishads. The Sāndilya Sūtra does for the non-dualist what the Nārada Sūtra does for the dualist. Since, however, all scriptures are written in such a form that according to the attitude of the mind they are capable of either the dualistic or non-dualistic interpretation, so the dualistic Nārada Sūtra can be read by a non-dualist. This is also the case with the Christian scriptures'.

It is thus the peculiar distinction of the Bhakti Sūtras that, like the *Triveṇī*, they form the point of junction of three schools of thought which, but for them, might for ever have flowed apart. Mr. Sturdy says well: 'For the non-dualist the lover becomes an ocean of love, the concrete becomes abstract; the true and permanent state of which our nature consists, but which we do not recognize through nescience. From nescience arises egoity ("I" and "mine"), and the very idea is a limitation of love. Merged in that ocean of love and bliss, all separation, all individualism vanishes. It is found existing—as it always in reality exists—alone, without a second. *Men often fall back from the grand abstraction of the* adwaita—*non-duality—through not having recognized along with it the corresponding fire of Bhakti*'.

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V. *South Indian Vaishnavism*

The South Indian Vaishnava teachers and saints developed some special aspects of Vaishnavism. After the terrific onslaught by Buddhism on the ancient undue emphasis on Karma, Sri Sankaracharya routed Buddhism and restored Karma and showed how it led to Jnana. The Adwaita school was followed by the South Indian Vishistadwaita and the Dwaita schools with their emphasis on Bhakti. Nathamuni, Yamunacharya, Sri Ramanujacharya, Sri Vedanta Desiha, and Sri Manavala Mahamuni developed the South Indian Vaishnavism. Apart from sectarian and sub-sectarian differences, the main ideas of the Vishistadwaitic system are as follows. God alone exists. Chit (souls) and Achit (matter) form His body and are His Prakāras or modes. He is the Seshi (principal) and they are Sesha (subordinate). He is the Niyāmaka (control) and they are Niyamya (controlled). In regard to matter, Vishistadwaita affirms evolution (Parinama) whereas Adwaita affirms apparent variation (Vivarta). The Nirguna texts in the Vedas merely mean that God has no bad qualities. The southern school elaborated the ideas of Prapathi (self-surrender to God) and Kainkarya (service to God). The elements of Prapathi are said to be (1) resolving to do what will please Him, (2) giving up what will displease Him, (3) faith in His protective power, (4) prayer for protection, (5) self-surrender to Him, and (6) self-helplessness.

VI. *North Indian Vaishnavism*

The northern school of Vaishnavism consists of the followers of Ramananda, Vallabhacharya, and Sree Chaitanya. Ramananda lived in the fourteenth century. He spread the worship of Rama. The northern school of Vaishnavism was a social leveller. Ramananda's disciples were drawn from all the castes. In the Vallabha sect the object of worship is Bāla Gopala. Vallabha belonged to the seventeenth century. Earlier than him was Sri Chaitanya who belonged to the beginning of the sixteenth century. He emphasized the worship of Radha Krishna. The adoration of Chaitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa and largely in Bengal. Radha is the principle of blissful devotion. The concept of Prema and the concept of Kāma are poles apart. In Kāma the goal is pleasure to oneself. In Prema the goal is the joy of the Beloved.

Chaitanya's teaching marks a distinct trend in the cult of devotion. While Ramanuja stressed the aspect of *Kainkarya* (service to God), Chaitanya stressed the aspect of *Prema Bhakti* (pure and sweet love of God). All the *rasas* are turned towards God

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and Bhakti Rasa is the supreme Rasa and is called also the *Ujjwala Rasa* (the shining Rasa). The bliss of God-love has an ascending scale denoted by the Sānta, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya, and Mādhurya aspects of devotion. The illustrious examples were Bhishma, Daruka, Arjuna, Yasoda, and the Gopīs. The Gopīs exemplify the Mādhurya Rasa. They knew that it was the divine Bliss that had become the divine Beauty of Sri Krishna and evoked their divine Love. They forgot their very bodies and all their worldly ties. They felt as pure souls in pure enjoyment of the ever-pure, ever-blessed, ever-blissful Oversoul. The Gopī who was detained at home was united in soul with the Oversoul even earlier than the Gopīs who enjoyed the divine notes of the flute divine. Chaitanya felt and taught and showed that the Mādhurya Rasa is the supreme goal of life. The Bengal school of Vaishnavism teaches the doctrine of the Achintyabhedābheda relation of the divine sakti to God Vishnu. Jīva Goswami says in his *Sarvasamvādini* that *Jnana* is God's Swarupa Sakti.

While the southern school stresses Prapathi as the supreme Sādhana, the northern school makes it the first step in the group of Vaidhi Bhakti Sādhanas. Above it are the nine forms of Bhakti: Sravana, Kirtana, Smarana, Pādasevana, Archana, Vandana, Dāsya, Sakhya, and Atmanivedana. Such Vaidhi Bhakti eventually becomes Râganuga Bhakti or Prema Bhakti or Mādhurya Bhakti. It is a spontaneous and ceaseless flow of ecstatic devotion. Even after liberation the divine flow of devotion continues and is the real *summum bonum* of existence.

VII. *Devotion as the supreme human emotion*

In Rasa there is thus an impersonal and supersensuous element of bliss. That is why the joy of Rasa and the bliss of Bhakti are alike, and Viswanatha says in his Sāhitya Darpana that the joy of Rasa is the younger brother of the bliss of the realization of God (Brahmānanda Sahodarah). We should look at divine bliss from the point of view of the bliss of the liberated soul and from the point of view of the bliss of God. The bliss of the liberated soul flows as devotion while the bliss of God flows as grace. But the essence of devotion as well as of grace is bliss.

The soul's forgetfulness of its nature and destiny is due to Māyā Sakti including its Āvarana Sakti (which unveils the nature of the soul and of the Oversoul) and its Vikshepa Sakti (which projects the universe and involves us in Samsāra). Northern Vaishnavism does not deny the Impersonal aspect of Brahman but stresses the Personal aspect because of its Hlādini Sakti (charming beauty and

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bliss) which includes the states of loving and being loved. God is not only the object of love but is the perfect lover. Love is the highest and loveliest thing in the world but its objects here are impermanent. But God is eternal and His love is eternal and His grace is infinite. He alone is Infinite Beauty and Love and Bliss. He alone is the supreme object of our love and He alone can confer infinite bliss on us.

God can as easily come into the plane of vision as into the plane of the mind. He is as far from the plane of mind and speech (Avāngmanasagochara) as He is from the plane of vision (Adrisya). We cannot command Him to come to our level. But out of grace He can, if He pleases, come into the plane of our mind or our vision or our speech (Yamevaisha vrunute tena labhyah). But purity of the mind and the senses is required for beholding Him. In the case of persons of impure mind and senses He is invisible as He is hidden by Yogamāyā (Nāham Prakāsassarvasya Yogamāyā Samavritah—Gita, VII, 25). But His pure devotees can behold Him and He is in them and they are in Him (Gita, IX, 29).

Thus Prema Bhakti is regarded as the highest emotion of man as if the really divine aspect of his nature. Its distinctiveness is that it is happy in the happiness of the Beloved and that there is no element of selfishness in it. This trait is called *Ākinchanyam* (self-surrender). Such love kindles grace into active functioning and the Lord rejoices in such a devotee (bhagavatopi ānanda chamatkārita tasya bhakteh sruyate). The Lord says that He is Bhaktaparādheena (devoted to His devotees), Asvatantra (self-enslaved to them), and Sadhubir grasta hridayah (with his heart stolen away by them) (Bhagawat, IX, 4, 63). The Lord has more joy in such love than in His infinite power (aiswarya).

Thus the Rasa of Bhakti which is the supreme Rasa is the Mādhurya Rasa (quintessential sweetness of bliss). Its earthly counterpart is the joy that we experience when seeing the full moon. In love of woman the pure love of beauty is often coloured by the tinted lights of sex emotion. But love in regard to God is pure and sweet beyond measure. It may take the form of Sānti (tranquillity), Dāsya (service), Sakhya (comradeship), Vātsalya (affection), and Mādhurya (love), but all these realizations are pure through and through, though the most ecstatic bliss is tasted in the Mādhurya realization called Mahābhāva which was the mood of the Gopīs. Such bhāva is called Kāntabhāva or Priyatā or Prema or Parā Bhakti or Parama Bhakti and such a devotee is called Ekānti or Paramaīkānti. The Mādhurya Rasa is described by Jīva Goswami in his Ujjvala Nīlamani as the Ujjwala (shining) Rasa. He expands the same idea in his Lalita Mādhava also.

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Sānti, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya, and Mādhurya are all Sthāyī-bhāvas (permanent emotional moods) in æsthetics (Rasa Sāstra). Each one of them is a Divya Rati (divine bliss). Out of such Sthāyī-bhāvas, Sānti is the lowest for it concentrates on the Aiswarya aspect of God. The others concentrate on His Mādhurya aspect. The Kāntabhāva relates to the highest Mādhurya Rasa. The above-said Sthāyībhāvas have their Vibhāvas (stimulating causes) and Anubhāvas (external manifestations) and Vyabhichāribhāvas (changing minor moods). A *Sthāyībhāva* is called so because it pervades and colours all the other moods just as the ocean makes saltish the waters of the rivers flowing into it.

Viruddhairaviruddhair vā bhāvair vichchidyate na yah ।
Ātma bhāvam nayatyanyan sa sthāyi Lavanākarah ॥

As the object of Bhakti is God while the object of love is a woman, the former is pure and perfect and unselfish while elements of impurity and imperfection and selfishness cling to the latter.

The other Rasas (hāsya, karuna, bhayānaka, bhībhatsa, raudra, vīra, and adbhuta) are only feeder Rasas and must enhance the five Mukhya Rasas (Sānta, Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya, and Mādhurya). Coleridge's famous stanza may be recalled in this connection, though it relates to earthly love :

'All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of Love
And feed his sacred flame.'

I referred above to Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, and Vyabhichāri-bhāvas. Vibhāvas are either Ālambana Vibhāvas (principal stimulants) or Uddipana Vibhāvas (accessory stimulants). The Ālambana Vibhāva is God who is Eternal and Supreme Beauty and Love and Bliss ; and the Uddipana Vibhāvas are His infinite gracious qualities and wonderful manifestations (*Vibhutis*). How can any *Sringāra Rasa* (human love) in relation to a human being come up to the level of the infinite bliss of Krishna Prema Rasa ? The Anubhāvas are tears of joy, hair standing on end in delight, radiance of face, joy of song and dance, etc. etc. The Bhāgawata says :

'The heart which does not, on hearing the names of God, show itself in a new radiance of face and tears of joy in the eyes and hair standing on end under the emotional stress of delight, is but a stone.' (Bhāgawata, II, 3, 24.)

The 33 Vyabhichāribhāvas also can be understood and realized as applicable to the Bhakti Rasa.

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The Bhāgawata clearly tells us that Bhakti is the supreme Rasa (Ānandarasasundaram ; VII, 1, 2) and that the Bhakta is the supreme Rasika (Pibata bhāgawatam rasam ālayam muharaho rasikā bhuir bhāvukah ; I, 1, 3). It is when we approach the devotion of the Gopīs with the abovesaid intellectual and emotional equipment that we can understand its true glory. Kāma or Desire aims at one's own pleasure but Bhakti or Devotion aims solely at the bliss of the Beloved. That is why it is said in the Bhāgawata that the true lovers of God do not want heaven (Nāka Prishta) or even liberation (Apunarbhava) but prefer to have the supreme bliss of prayer and praise and meditation and devotion.

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A NOTE ON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

By ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

It is very difficult to give any satisfactory account of the system of provincial government under the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi, for there was, really speaking, no well-defined *system* which can be analyzed from the theoretical point of view. Neither the position of the provincial governor, nor the functions of the officers appointed by him or acting under his authority, can be precisely determined from the careless and unsystematic chronicles which constitute the only source of our information.

During the early days of Islam the administration of the conquered provinces was entrusted to reliable governors. The great Khalīfah Umar was so anxious 'to keep his governors straight and steady that he would not even allow them to buy land or build houses in their provinces'.[1] He also 'introduced the system of *muqāsamah*, that is to say, he caused to be noted down everything that the governors, starting from their provinces, possessed, and then he compelled them, on their return, to give back to the treasury half of the sum they brought with them'.[2] His successors, less stern and strong and more inclined to tolerate necessary abuses, relaxed their control, and the influence of the provincial governors necessarily grew. The result was the disruption of the Islamic world and the rise of the so-called 'Minor Dynasties'.

Muslim political philosophers divided Provincial Governorship into two classes[3]—'one which is limited in its powers and the other which is unlimited and undefined in its powers'. Limited Governorship consisted in the governor bearing command over the troops and carrying on the administrative work, but neither exercising judicial functions nor presiding over the financial department nor representing the Caliph in religious matters'.[4] In India under the Turkish Sultāns the provincial governors, generally speaking, belonged to the second category, for they probably exercised judicial functions and certainly presided over the financial department.

In Muslim Political Philosophy we come across a third class of Governorship—Governorship by usurpation (*Imaratu-i-Istīlā*).[5] 'Political adventurers wrested provinces from the lawful authorities,

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1 Khuda Bukhsh, *History of Islamic Civilization*, p. 254.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 255-6. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 257. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 258. 5 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

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retained them by force of arms and denied the authority of the Caliph. When driven to straights the Caliph acknowledged and confirmed them in their dominion on condition of their owning his spiritual and religious supremacy'. Students of Medieval Indian History will find in such a Governorship an analogy of the position enjoyed by many Muslim satraps and Hindu vassal chiefs of the Emperors of Delhi.

Readers of the Persian chronicles dealing with the history of the Sultanate of Delhi often come across the words *Wilāyat, Iqtā, Wālī* and *Muqti*. The first two words are used to indicate a province, while the other two stand for provincial governors.[1] The word *Wālī* is used in old Islamic literature to denote a governor. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadī*[2] used the word *Nāzim* to denote provincial governors under the Sultanate of Delhi, but it is an obvious anachronism, for the word came into general use during the Timurid period.[3] *Iqtā* generally means 'an assignment of revenue conditional on military service', but sometimes it stands also for 'administrative charges, and not mere assignments'.[4] *Muqti* means the holder of an administrative charge. Whether there were differences in status or functions between the *Wālī* and the *Muqti* is not very clear.[5]

In this connection we may refer to the prevalent practice of describing the Sultanate of Delhi as a feudal organization.[6] Most of the modern writers on the subject employ the terminology of Feudalism in describing the character and administrative mechanism of the Empire over which 'Ala-ud-din Khaljī and Muhammad Tughluq ruled. Thus, provinces are spoken of as fiefs, a close analogy is drawn between the Turkish amīrs and the barons of feudal Europe, and provincial satraps are represented as the Eastern patterns of the Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy. There is no doubt that the provincial governors had to maintain a body of troops for the Sultān's service; it cannot be denied that in most cases they actually exercised absolute authority as semi-independent potentates. Does this similarity between them and those over-mighty subjects who defied the authority of the Lancastrian kings and dragged

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[1] The designation *Nāib Sultān* is sometimes used.

[2] Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p. 38.

[3] Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 57.

[4] W. H. Moreland's article in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, 1928, p. 1.

[5] Moreland (*ibid.*, p. 7) criticizes Dr. K. R. Qanungo's view (*Sher Shah*, pp. 349-50) that the difference was one of distance from the capital, and comes to the conclusion that 'this view is not borne out by detailed analysis of the language of the chronicles'.

[6] For an elaborate criticism of this practice, see Moreland's article referred to above.

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England into the Wars of the Roses, entitle us to speak of Feudalism in Medieval India? The similarity, in fact, is more apparent than real. First, the provincial governors were appointed by the Sultāns and could be removed by them. There are a few instances of hereditary succession[1]; there are also cases in which governors refused to leave their provinces and revolted.[2] These are exceptions occasioned by the weakness of central authority. On the other hand, instances of appointment, dismissal and transfer at the Sultāns' pleasure are too numerous to be mentioned here. Could any feudal king of Europe appoint, dismiss or transfer his barons in a similar way? The position of the barons was strictly hereditary; they did not owe it to the favour of the kings.[3] Nor could a baron be deprived of his fief except as a punishment for disloyalty.[4] No French king could transfer the Duke of Burgundy to Normandy. Secondly, in feudal Europe the loyalty of the mesne tenants was due, at the first instance, to their feudal lords who might utilize it even against the king.[5] The provincial subjects of the Turkish Sultāns, however, owed their allegiance to the rulers of Delhi, not to their viceroys in the provincial capitals. No doubt disloyal governors could sometimes utilize the services of the soldiers at their disposal as well as of many inhabitants of the territories under their control. It must be remembered, however, that in those days the army was generally composed of adventurers and mercenaries, and that many reckless and ambitious inhabitants of the provinces were generally eager to improve their prospects by espousing the cause of the man who seemed likely to win the contest. Finally the provincial governors had to pay no *feudal* taxes (such as aids, reliefs, etc.) to the Sultāns, nor could they exact these taxes from the tenants in their 'fiefs'. Under these circumstances is it not altogether misleading to speak of the Sultanate of Delhi as a 'feudal' State? The practice seems to have originated in an imitation of Tod's description of the so-called Feudalism in Rajputana.[6]

We have described the semi-independent provincial governors as potentates practically exercising absolute authority over the vast

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1 Specially in Bengal, where the control of Delhi was always nominal.

2 Cf. the revolt of 'Ani-ul-Mulk, governor of Oudh and author of a valuable work on provincial administration entitled *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*, during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. See Barani's account in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 246–9.

3 We are not speaking of new creations.

4 Compare the case of Richard II and Henry of Lancaster.

5 It was to provide a remedy for this danger to the Monarchy that William the Conqueror introduced the famous Oath of Salisbury.

6 Crooke's edition of Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, Introduction. *Rajputana Gazetteer* (Mewar).

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areas entrusted to them. As in the case of the Timurid Subāhdārs,[1] their 'essential duties were to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue[2] and to execute the royal decrees and regulations'. Their actual authority often varied in proportion to the distance of their provinces from the capital[3] and the strength of the Sultān whom they were called upon to serve. Their military duties were certainly more pressing than their civil duties, for they had not only to suppress rebellions and disorders within their own provinces, but also to keep their contingents ready for the summons of the capital.[4] We may assume that the actual government of the rural areas was carried on by Hindu and Muslim zemindars.[5]

The history of the Sultanate of Delhi may be most conveniently studied as the story of the gradual expansion and consolidation of an imperial power, followed by the inevitable decline. The current distinction between the *Sultanate* of the Turks and the *empire* of the Timurids is, as Sir Wolseley Haig pointed out, 'not entirely accurate, or satisfactory, for it suggests that the earlier Muslim rulers were content with a comparatively small kingdom in the neighbourhood of their capital, whereas for nearly half a century they ruled virtually the whole sub-continent of India, two at least of them being emperors of India in a truer sense than any of the first four Timurids, and the ruin of their empire covered the greater part of India with a number of independent Muslim States'.[6] And yet Sir Wolseley Haig came to the conclusion that 'imperial rule was not characteristic of the sovereigns of Delhi during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries'. It is necessary to examine the truth of this statement.

During the first century of their rule the Sultāns of Delhi were 'consolidating and extending their authority', not like provincial kings trying to assert effective authority over recalcitrant elements within the comparatively narrow boundaries of their kingdoms, but

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[1] Sir J. N. Sirkar, *ibid.*, p. 57.

[2] Muhammad Tughluq *recalled* Qutlugh Khān, governor of Devagiri, because 'vast sums of the revenue were lost through the speculations' of his officials. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 251.

[3] Compare the case of Bengal. This was one of the important reasons which led Muhammad Tughluq to transfer his capital to Devagiri, a more central place than Delhi.

[4] Muhammad Tughluq summoned troops from Sāmāna, Amroha, Baran, Kol and Ahmedabad in order to help him against 'Ain-ul-Mulk.

[5] Cf. the description of the condition of the villages during the Timurid period given by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. (*Ibid.*, pp. 55-6.) His remarks apply to our period as well.

[6] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Preface, p. v.

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like imperial conquerors seeking to bring a continent under their domination. It is not for a king with a limited vision or a narrow outlook to establish an empire. The Arab rulers of Sind and the Yamini kings of the Punjab ruled over provincial kingdoms for many years, but they did not venture far into the heart of India at the head of aggressive armies. Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna possessed immense resources and brilliant military talents, but he could not appreciate the intoxicating romance of empire-building.[1] And yet Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad, the commander of the army of the obscure principality of Ghur, inferior to Mahmūd in military talents and equipments, suffering preliminary reverses at the hands of his Indian adversaries, finally succeeded in establishing Muhammadan hegemony over a large part of Northern India within the comparatively brief period of thirty years (1176–1206 A.D.). From 1312 A.D. (when Malik Kāfūr defeated and killed Sankara, the Yādava king of Devagiri) to the later years of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, the empire of Delhi was larger in extent than the Timurid empire during the reign of Akbar and of his two immediate successors.

Nor was this vast empire a mere conglomeration of isolated principalities, owing nominal allegiance to a titular emperor residing in a distant city.[2] Sir Wolseley Haig said,[3] 'The early Muhammadan kingdom of Delhi was not a homogeneous political entity. The great

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[1] This statement refers, of course, to his relations with India. Prof. Habib remarks, 'His real aim was the establishment of a Turko-Persian Empire and the Indian expeditions were a means to that end. . . . . N. conquest was intended because no conquest was possible. A Muslim government over the country was beyond the region of practical politics without a native Muslim population to support it'. (*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, p. 72.) And yet circumstances had hardly altered when Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad brought 'a Muslim government over the country' (i.e. India) within 'the region of practical potitics'.

[2] Dr. K. R. Qanungo remarks: 'Neither well-defined administrative units nor any machinery of administration for the provinces existed at all. . . . The country, in spite of its subjection to one ruler, was cut up into innumerable mutually repellent semi-feudal states held by arrogant soldiers, without any civil authority to check their ambition and misdeeds'. (*Sher Shah*, pp. 349-50.) In the first place, how could provincial governors realize taxes systematically and without any clash between themselves, if there were no 'well-defined administrative units'? Secondly, Dr. Qanungo himself says that 'there was certainly a provincial *diwan* and perhaps too a provincial *qazi*'; moreover, there were innumerable tax-collectors as well as the guardians of law and order in the army. How, then, can we say that there was no 'machinery of administration'? Finally, how could Muhammad Tughluq recall Qutlugh Khan, governor of Devagiri, if there was no 'civil authority' to 'check the ambition and misdeeds' of the provincial governors? It would be too much to expect a system of *constitutional* restrictions on governors' powers in an age dominated by military classes and military ideas.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 87-8.

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fiefs . . . were nuclei of Muhammadan influence, the holders of which discharged some of the functions of provincial governors, but the trans-Gangetic fiefs . . . were mere outposts of dominion' against the Hindus. This was an inevitable outcome of political realities, a necessary transitional stage in the evolution of the Islāmic State in an alien land and amidst a hostile population. We may remember the position of the earls in Anglo-Saxon England, and of the wardens of the marches in Germany during the early Middle Ages. By reconciling the claims of the king with the difficulties of the nobles, the Turkish conquerors of those days provided for the integrity of the infant State as well as for its safety. When, however, the safety of the State was assured, its rulers took upon themselves the task of extending its sphere, directing their attention at the same time to the problem of strengthening their own authority upon the ambitious and powerful satraps of doubtful loyalty. Their success was spasmodic, but it was brilliant and enduring enough to justify their claim of being regarded as empire-builders.

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THE DATE OF THE REBELLIONS OF TILANG AND KAMPILA AGAINST SULTAN MUḤAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ—II

By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA

(*Continued from p.* 146)

The chronology of the rebellions which has been deduced from the data furnished by contemporary writers such as Barni, Ibn Battuta and Badr-i-Chach is corroborated by the account of Futūh-us-Salāṭīn,[1] a history of Mussalman kings of India in Persian verse. Īṣāmy, the author of this history, was a subject of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. He was born at Dehli about 1310 A.D. and at the age of sixteen, when Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlaq transferred his capital in 1327 A.D. to Dēvgīr, he was obliged, by the royal command, to migrate to that city like the other citizens of Dehli. He lived at Dēvgīr during the next quarter of the century, when, after the establishment of the Bahmani throne at Gulburga, he composed his history in 1349-50 A.D. and dedicated it to his sovereign.[2] Īṣāmy was thus not only a contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq but an eye-witness to several events of his reign, specially those pertaining to the history of the Deccan. His Futūh-us-Salāṭīn which was written during the lifetime of Sultan Muḥammad is the earliest account of the Sultan's reign that has come down to posterity, and it corroborates, corrects and supplements the narratives of the contemporary as well as the later historians. Īṣāmy's work is defective in certain respects. In the first place, it gives very few dates. This may be attributed to the lack of facility of incorporating too many dates in a verse composition. Secondly, it does not give a comprehensive account of the events of Sultan Muḥammad's reign. As Īṣāmy's object is to describe the circumstances under which an independent kingdom

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[1] My thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University for obtaining the loan of a MS. of this work from India Office Library, London; and to Mr. A. S. Usha, Lecturer in Persian, Madras University, who has first discovered and brought the existence of the MS. to my notice, for not only initiating me into the mysteries of Persian language and studying the work with me, but discussing several problems connected with Deccan Mussalman history.

[2] See for a further account of Īṣāmy's family and life, Mr. A. S. Usha's *Īṣāmy Nāma* (Preface). AOR, Vol. I, No. 1.

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was established in Deccan, he either narrates briefly or alludes merely to incidents having no bearing on the theme of his work. Nevertheless, the value of his work cannot be easily over-estimated, as it considerably enriches our knowledge of the history of the expansion of the Mussalman power in the Deccan during the fourteenth century.

Īṣāmy narrates the principal events of Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's reign in the following order:—

1. The accession of the Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, son of Tughlaq Shāh.
2. The story of the rebellion of Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp.
3. The marching of Ahmad Ayāz from Gujerat to Daulatābād; and his expedition against Garshāsp.
4. The arrival of the Sultān at Daulatābād; despatch of Ahmad Ayāz against Kampila; his sudden arrival at Kumta.
5. The defeat of Kampila and Bahā-ud-Dīn at Hosdurg and the conquest of Hosdurg.
6. The flight of Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp to the confines of Dhōrsamand and his capture.
7. The march of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq Shāh from Daulatābād to Dehli and the celebration of a feast.
8. The march of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlāq Shāh to Multān for overthrowing Kishli Khān; and his winning of the victory.
9. The march of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq Shāh from Multān to Depālpūr and the arrival of news of the slaying of Bōrah from Lakhnauti.
10. The arrival of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq Shāh at Dehli after his victory over Kishli Khān, and his rejoicing.
11. The beginning of the tyranny of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq Shāh in the city of Dehli; and the sending of the people (of the city) to Dēvgīr.
12. The mention of silver, copper, iron and leather (currency).
13. The arrival of Tarma Shīrīn in Hindūstān.
14. The despatch of the army by Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq Shāh to the hill of Qarāchal and the destruction of the people.
15. The rebellion of Syyid Jalāl in Ma'bar, and his secession from the kingdom. The marching of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq Shāh towards Tilang.
16. The rebellion of Shāhu, Gulchandr, and Halājūn in brief.

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17. The arrival of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlāq Shāh at Dehli and the destruction of the remaining people.
18. The story of the rebellion of 'Ain-ud-Dīn ('Ain-ul-Mulk) Māhru.
19. The fighting of 'Ain-ud-Dīn with Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq Shāh.
20. The rebellion of Nuṣrat Khān in Bidar.
21. The leading of an expedition by Qutlugh Khān against the army of Nuṣrat Khān and Qutlugh Khān's victory.
22. The coming of the intelligence of the rebellion of 'Ali Shāh to Sultān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughlāq; and the despatch of troops from the city of Dehli.
23. The marching of Qutlugh Khān from Dēvgīr towards Dhārūr and Bidar to overthrow 'Ali Shah.
24. The defeat of 'Ali Shah at Dhārūr, and his standing siege in the fort of Bidar.
25. 'Ali Shah begs for safety, and the capture of the fort of Bidar.
26. The expedition of Khān-i-A'ẓam Alap Khān, son of Qutlugh Khān, to Chandgaḍah, and his chastising the rebels twice.
27. The arrival of the order of the Sultān to Qutlugh for sending of the people from Dēvgīr to Dehli.
28. The march of Alap Khān towards Dehli and the arrival of 'Ālim-ul-Mulk in Dēvgīr.
29. The rebellion of Qāẓī Jalāl and Mubārak Khurram Mufti in the district of Barōda on account of injustice.
30. Sudden attack on Muqbil at Barōda and his defeat.
31. The battle of Azīz Khammār with the troops of Barōda and the death of Khammār in the fight.
32. The marching of the forces of Barōda to Khambāyat, and the siege of Khambāyat.
33. The advance of Sultān Muḥammad from Dehli towards Gujerāt.
34. The arrival of 'Ālim-ul-Mulk at Bharōj and bringing of the army out of the fort.
35. The arrival of the forces of Barōda at Bharōj and their defeat.
36. The rebellion of the people of Dēvgīr against Sultān Muḥammad and seizing of the government by Ismā'īl Mukh.
37. The slaying of Ahmad Lāchīn and Qaltāsh and the seizing of the government by Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Afghān.

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38. The coming of the news of the rebellion of the army of Dēvgīr to Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlāq Shāh and his expedition to Dēvgīr.
39. The fighting of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlāq Shāh with Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Afghān.
40. The retreat of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn and his standing the siege in the fort of Dēvgīr.
41. The rebellion of Taghī in Gujerāt and the return of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlāq Shāh.
42. Concerning the prisoners in the fort of Dēvgīr; the oppression of Jauhar; and the march of Sartīz towards Gulburga.
43. The fighting of Ẓafar Khān with Sartīz; and the winning of victory.
44. The destruction of the army of Sartīz and his death in the fight.
45. The accession of 'Alā-ud-Din Wad-Duniya Abul-Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh.

It is needless to point out that this account of the principal events of the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, as described by Īṣāmy, is far from complete. It ignores several important events which profoundly affected the fortunes of the Dehli empire. Īṣāmy himself seems to have perceived the imperfect character of his narrative; and in order to make amends, as it were, for the omission of events unconnected with the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom, he thus enumerates in order all the principal rebellions which convulsed the empire in one of the sections in the concluding part of his history:

> 'During the reign of this unworthy monarch, whose promises to any one are seldom kept, insurgents seized by force the whole of India and tumult and confusion rose on all sides. Audacious men lifted their heads in all places and in every country there arose another king. Ma'bar became a seat of separate government. A Sayyid became king in that place. Tilang having rebelled, the fort of Tilang (Warangal) passed away from the hands of the Turks. An apostate (from Islam) conquered the country of Kannaḍ from Gūty as far as the boundary of Ma'bar. From Kahram, Sāmāna together with the Punjāb as well as the provinces of Multān and Lāhore were ruined. Families of pious mystics were cruelly oppressed in that land. A king raised the (royal) canopy in Lakhnauti and ascended the throne. The whole of Tirhat and Gaur was devastated, men being

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struck by a wave of rebellion. Revolt spread throughout Malwa, the whole of it excepting a few places being recaptured by the infidels. The whole country was seized by the Hindus, the Mussalmans creeping into the forts (for protection) like the Hindus. In the while land of Gujerāt rose in rebellion, the infidels increased and the Mussalmāns decreased (in power). When, at last, the oppression of the king passed all limits, the country Marhat also turned against him.' [1]

Nine rebellions are mentioned in the foregoing passage, viz., those of (1) Ma'bar, (2) Tilang, (3) Kannaḍ, (4) Kahrām, Sāmāna, the Punjāb, Lahore and Multān, (5) Lakhnauti, (6) Tirhat and Gaur, (7) Mālwa, (8) Gujerāt, and (9) Marhat. Of these 2, 3, 5 and 6 are not described by Īṣāmy in the body of his work; and only an imperfect account is given of 4 in a short section. The events connected with the other rebellions are narrated in detail. Nothing is known of the rebellion of Tirhat and Gaur from other Muslim

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1 * * * * *

Hama Hind dar 'ahad īn nābakār
Ki 'uhadash nashud bā kase pāidār
Giriftand ahal-i-taghallub ba zōr
Ba har jānibe khāst ghaughā u shōr
Ba har sū dilēre bar-āvard sar
Ba har kishware gasht shāhe digar
Ba Ma'bar judāgāna shud takhtgāh
Shud ānjā yake sayyide Padshāh
Tamarrud guzīda diyār-i-Tilang
Shud az dast-i-Turkān ḥiṣār-i-Tilang
Yake Murtadd iqlīm-i-Kannaḍ girift
Zi Gūtty u tā ḥadd-i-Ma'bar girift
Zi Kahrām u sāmāna bā Panchāb
Shud aqṣāy-i-Lāhōr u Multān kharāb
Tabār-i-faqīrān-i-ṣābit qadam
Dar ān kishwar āzarda shud az sitam
Ba Lakhnauty andar yake Pādshāh
Bar-āvard chatr u bar-āmad bagāh
Hama Tirhat u Gaur gashta mawās
Zada mauj-i-baghī tamarrud banās
Hama Māluwa shud tamarudd girāy
Girifta zi sar kufr juz chand jāy
Shuda ẓabṭ Hindū khasān sarāsar diyār
Musulmān chu Hindū khasān dar ḥiṣār
Ba-gashta hama mulk Gujarāt ham
Dar ū kufr afzūn u Islām kam
Ham ākhir chu ẓulm-i-shah az ḥadd guzasht
Hama mulk-i-Marhat az ū nīz gasht.

Īṣāmy: *Futūh-us-Salāṭīn.*

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sources. Īṣāmy's statement is, however, corroborated by Vidyāpati who alludes to some of the incidents of this rebellion in one of the stories of Purushapariksha :

> 'Muhammad, the Yavana king of Hastināpura, had a fight with a Kāfar rāja which resulted in the retreat of the Muslim army. Thereupon, Muhammad called in the help of certain warriors to prevent the retreat. In response to this appeal, Narsingdēva of Karṇaṭaka kula and prince Chārchikadēva of Chauhan kula came forward with offers of help. Narsing killed the Kāfar rāja and sent his head to Muhammad through Chārchikadēva.' [1]

The exact date of the outbreak of this rebellion cannot be determined. Probably, it was an aftermath of Fakhr-ud-Dīn's rebellion in Eastern Bengal. Though Īṣāmy does not mention the time of the outbreak of these rebellions he seems to have enumerated them in the order of their occurrence. That he has described them in their chronological order is made evident by the expression 'ham ākhir' which he makes use of in mentioning the outbreak of rebellion in Marhat, the last on his list. Therefore, the temporal sequence of the rebellions that are not described by Īṣāmy in the body of his work can be discovered without difficulty. Putting this together with the events described in the body of the work, the principal rebellions of the reign of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlāq Shāh seem to have broken out, according to Īṣāmy, in the following order:—

1.	The rebellion of	Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp at Sagar.
2.	,,	Kishli Khān at Multān.
3.	,,	Sayyid Jalāl in Ma'bar.
4.	,,	Tilang.
5.	,,	an apostate from Islam in Kannaḍ.
6.	,,	Kahrām and Sāmāna, Shāhu at Multān, and Halājūn and Gulchandr at Lahore.
7.	,,	Lakhnauti.
8.	,,	Tirhat and Gaur.
9.	,,	'Ain-ud-Dīn Māhrū.
10.	,,	Nuṣrat Khān at Bidr.
11.	,,	'Ali Shah Natthu
12.	,,	Qāẓī Jalāl and Mubārak Khurram Mufti at Barōda in Gujerāt.
13.	,,	Malwa.

[1] Ishwari Prasad: The Qarauna Turks : i, p. 38.

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14. The rebellion of the amīrs Ṣadah (centurions) under the leadership of Ismā'īl Mukh at Dēvgīr in Marhat.
15. ,, Taghi in Gujerāt.
16. The accession of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh on 24 Rabi II, 747 A.H.

Although the order of the outbreak of the rebellions as shown by this list is on the whole identical with that of the list at the end of the previous section, they are not in complete agreement. They differ from each other in three respects. In the first place, the rebellion of Tirhat and Gaur, as noted already, does not find a place in the previous list. Secondly, Īṣāmy jumbles up the events connected with the rebellions of Lahore, Multan and Kahrām and Sāmāna, reverses the order of their occurrence, and rolls them into one. It is true that the insurrections in these places had occurred about the same time; but that they had no connection with each other is clearly shown by Barni and Ibn Baṭūta. Īṣāmy who was living at Dēvgīr in the Deccan did not probably obtain accurate information about the happenings in Hindūstān. Lastly, he describes the rebellions which had broken out during the Sultan's sojourn at Sargdwāri in an order which differs from that of Barni. He places the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, whom he calls 'Ain-ud-Din Māhru, first; mentions the insurrections of Nuṣrat Khān and 'Ali Shah in the Deccan next; and ignores the outbreak of Nizām Māin's revolt at Kara altogether. It is rather difficult to determine the chronology of these three rebellions exactly, as the contemporary authorities differ from one another. Barni, it may be remembered, places 'Ain-ul-Mulk's rebellion last, but Ibn Baṭūta places it between the rebellions of Nuṣrat Khān and 'Ali Shah. Which of these three writers mentions these rebellions in their true chronological order, it is hard to find out. Nevertheless until some definite evidence is brought to light, the order of Barni's account may be tentatively accepted as correct, for, besides his memory, he must have had access to the court archives to help him in the compilation of his history. Baṭūta dictated his travels from his memory in 1355 A.D. at the end of his journeys; though his memory was amazingly strong as shown by the accuracy of his account in general, it appears to have played him false occasionally; and Īṣāmy lived in the Deccan; and he must have derived his information about the events of Hindūstān from second-hand sources. Probably he failed to observe the exact chronological sequence of events which occurred within the short duration of two years. As 'Ain-ul-Mulk's revolt was a sequel to the Sultan's desire to post him as the Viceroy of the Deccan

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in the place of Qutlugh Khān, it is reasonable to hold that it preceded the recall of the latter from the Deccan in 1344 A.D. as mentioned by Barni. With the exception of these deviations, there is no difference between Īṣāmy and other contemporary writers about the order of the outbreak of rebellions during Muḥammad Tughlaq's reign.

Of the rebellions mentioned above, those of Tilang and Kampila deserve further consideration, as they are invariably assigned by all scholars to a very late date; notwithstanding the evidence of the contemporary writers to the contrary. Barni, for instance, places them about the middle of Sultan Muḥammad's reign. He mentions them after the rebellions of Ma'bar, Multan, and Sannām and Sāmāna and before those of Kara, Bidar, Gulburga and Sargdwāri. Then he describes the arrival of the Khalīfā's representative at Dehli in A.H. 744 (A.D. 1344), thereby indicating that all these insurrections had taken place before that date. Īṣāmy furnishes more precise data. He states that the rebellions of Tilang and Kannaḍ had broken out after the rebellions of Kishli Khān and Syyid Jalāl, and before those of the Hindus of Kahrām, Sāmāna, etc., Shāhu at Multan, Halājūn at Lahore and Fakhra at Lakhnauti. The dates of two of these rebellions, viz. those of Ma'bar and Lakhnauti are definitely known by means of numismatic evidence. The former took place in 1334-35 A.D. and the latter either in 1337 or 1339 A.D. As the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila (or Kannaḍ) are placed between those of Ma'bar and Lakhnauti, they must be referred to a date between 1334-35 A.D. and 1337 or 1339 A.D.

Ferishta, however, assigns them, as noticed above, to A.H. 744 (A.D. 1344-45). Attention has already been drawn to the faulty character of this date. It may be pointed out in this connection that the chronology adopted by Ferishta is not accurate. He is always a few years in advance of the true chronology. The following schedule indicates the extent of Ferishta's deviations from the accurate chronology of the period :—

Event.	Ferishta's date. A.H.	True date. A.H.
The rebellion of Bahā-ud-Dīn Garshāsp ..	739	727
The rebellion of Syyid Jalāl in Ma'bar ..	742	735
The rebellion of Malik Halājūn in Lahore ..	743	736
The rebellion of Fakhr-ud-Dīn in Bengal ..	742	739
The rebellion of Nizām Māīn at Kara ..	745	737-38
The rebellion of Nuṣrat Khān in Bidar ..	745	739-40
The rebellion of 'Ali Shah at Gulburga ..	746	740
The rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk at Sargdwāri ..	747	740-41

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It is evident from this that Ferishta's chronology is on an average seven years in advance of the true chronology. It is not unlikely that the date given by him to the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila, whose genuineness is not above doubt, is similarly erroneous. Assuming the existence of the error, if the average seven years are deducted from the date 744 A.H. given to the rebellions, we arrive at 737 A.H. (1336-37 A.D.) as the year in which they had actually broken out. As this is in total agreement with the date suggested by chronological data furnished by contemporary historians, it may be accepted as the correct date of the outbreak of these rebellions.

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ŚŪNYA AND BRAHMAN

By ASHOKANATH SHASTRI

From the very ancient times, it has been urged by many a scholar that the Buddhist conception of Śūnya is similar in many respects to the Advaita conception of Brahman. The Śūnya of the Mādhyamikas is *not* an absolute void, emptiness, non-being, non-entity or non-existence as we are prompted to think of it at the very first sight. It has been described in the Mādhyamika-kārikās of Nāgārjuna as something which is neither real or existent, nor unreal or non-existent, nor both, nor neither.[1] Professors Th. Stcherbatsky and Yamakami Sogen, following the traditional exposition prevalent in China and Japan, assert that it is the fifth kind of existence—"the unique, undefinable (anirvacanīya) Essence of Being, the One-without-a-Second" (Stcherbatsky).

In the *Bhāvādvaita* doctrine,[2] ascribed to the celebrated Monist teacher Avimuktātma Bhagavān (C. 9th century A.D.)—the author of Iṣṭasiddhi,[3] the destruction or removal of nescience (avidyā-nivṛtti) at the time of Final Release (mokṣa) is described to be of a similar type.[4] Like the Śūnya of the Mādhyamikas, it is beyond

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[1] 'Śūnyam iti na vaktavyam aśūnyam iti vā bhavet
Ubhayaṃ nobhayaṃ ceti.....
—Mādhyamikaśāstra, p. 94.

Cf. '....Tattvaṃ sadasadubhayānubhayātmakacatuṣkoṭivinirmuktaṃ śūnyam eva.'—Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, A.S.S.Ed. P. 11.

[2] Referred to in the Gauḍabrahmānandī (Laghucandrikā) on Advaitasiddhi, N.S.Ed., p. 885. Of course, Madhusūdana or Brahmānanda does not accept this view—'ye tu pañcamaprakārādipakṣaḥ, te tu mandabuddhivyutpādanārthā iti'. Advaitasiddhi, N.S.Ed., p. 885.

[3] The general idea is that the Bhāvadvaita doctrine belongs to Maṇḍana Miśra—the author of Brahmasiddhi. But the quotations found in the Advaitabrahmasiddhi and Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha, prove the fact to be otherwise. Advaitabrahmasiddhi attributes the doctrine to the author of Iṣṭasiddhi and others. Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha, on the other hand, expressly states this doctrine to belong to Ānandabodhācārya. Citsukhī, too, maintains that this view does not belong to Iṣṭasiddhikāra (vide, below).

[4] 'Uktaprakāracatuṣṭayottīrṇapañcamaprakāra iti....Iṣṭasiddhikārādayaḥ'. Advaitabrahmasiddhi, Bib. Ind., pp. 201-2. 'Uktaprakāracatuṣṭayottīrṇā pañcama-prakārety Ānandabodhācāryāḥ'.—S.L.S., Benares ed., p. 500. Appaya Dīkṣita says that according to Maṇḍana, avidyā-nivṛtti is identical with Ātman—'Keyam avidyā-nivṛttiḥ? Atmaiveti Brahmasiddhikārāḥ.'—S.L.S., pp. 497-8. The actual quotation from Maṇḍana's Brahmasiddhi is, however, found in Citsukhī, in which ajñāna-nivṛtti is identified with Vidyā or Brahma-jñāna—'Vidyaiva vādvayā śāntā

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the limits of all categorical assertions and is of the fifth kind. While according to the interpretation of Professors Stcherbatsky and Yamakami Sogen, the Mādhyamikas posit the Śūnya (the principle of Relativity—some sort of unrestricted hyper-existence) as the Essence of this universe (if any essence could be attributed at all), the followers of the Bhavadvaita doctrine assert that the destruction of ignorance (which is also a fifth kind of predication like the Śūnya)[1] can never be the character of the world. So a distinct category of existence which *appears* as the cause, has to be postulated. This is Brahman.[2]

We feel, we should utter one word of caution here. So far as Nāgārjuna is concerned, it is difficult to deduce any positivistic Absolutism from his Kārikās. He, on the contrary, emphatically repudiates even the remotest suggestion of an eternal entitative category and loses all patience with those who would hypostatise the *śūnyatā* as an ultimate existence. In fact, all the predicates used with reference to *śūnyatā* are of a purely negative character and can be used with equal facility of both Absolute Being and Absolute Non-Being. It is exceedingly hazardous, therefore, to postulate an Absolute of the nature of Brahman (which is undoubtedly Unrestricted Existence) on the statements of Nāgārjuna, which are purely of a non-committal character.

The difference between the Śūnya of the Mādhyamikas and the Brahman of the Advaitins, as interpreted by the two Russian and Japanese savants, lies in the fact that the Śūnya is mere unrestricted

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tadastamaya ucyate.'—Cit. N.S.Ed., p. 381. Citsukhī, following Maṇḍana and Iṣṭasiddhikāra, identifies ajñāna-nivṛtti with Ātman when its true nature is known tot he enlightened person—'Tasmād utpannātmavijñānasya jñāta ātmaiva savilāsājñāna-nivṛttir iti sthitam'.—*Ibid.* p. 383. According to Citsukhī's interpretation, Iṣṭasiddhikāra does not hold the view that ajñāna-nivṛtti is of the fifth type; on the other hand, his view is that ajñāna-nivṛtti is equivalent to the object known or the knowledge of the object. Citsukhī gives the actual quotation from Iṣṭasiddhi—'"Jñato'rthas tajjñaptir vā'jñānahānir" itīṣṭasiddhikārair adhidhānāt.'—*Ibid.*, p. 381. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī holds the same view as that of Citsukhī—'Carama vṛtyupalakṣitasyātmano'jñānahānirūpatvāt,'—Advaitasiddhi, N.S.Ed., p. 884.

[1] As we have already seen that celebrated teachers like Maṇḍana Miśra, Citsukhācārya, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and a host of others unanimously reject this position. In their opinion, Ātman (i.e., Brahman) with its true nature known, or Vidyā (i.e., the Supreme knowledge of Brahman) is identical with the removal of nescience (avidyā-nivṛtti). Though the author of Advaitabrahmasiddhi ascribes this peculiar doctrine to the author of Iṣṭasiddhi, the quotation from Citsukhī proves the fact to be otherwise. In the absence of a few more significant data, we should like to leave the question open for the present. There is yet a third view, acording to which it is indefinable (anirvācyā) or false (mithyā) like avidyā itself.

[2] Brahman also is called Śūnya in Yogasvarodaya Brāhmaṇa and Mahopaniṣad —'Śūnyaṃ tu saccidānandaṃ niḥśabdabrahmaśabditam.'

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existence—'the Essence of Being',[1] while Brahman is Absolute Being-Consciousness-Bliss (Saccidānanda). It is problematic whether this unrestricted existence is of the nature of Consciousness or Self-consciousness, so to say.

The line of demarcation that has been drawn in the foregoing paragraph between the Śūnyavāda and the Monism of Śaṅkara is founded upon the exposition of Professors Stcherbatsky and Yamakami Sogen. We have not given our independent judgment about the final philosophical position, which, we are tempted to believe, is rather pure negativism. Our reason for this difference of view lies in this that Nāgārjuna has not himself left any statement which can be interpreted as evidence of a positive ontological principle. And if we are to believe Candrakīrti to have interpreted the position of Nāgārjuna correctly, we also cannot refuse to arrive at the conclusion that Nāgārjuna promulgated a philosophy of absolute negativism. Moreover, the interpretation that has been put upon the philosophy of Śūnyavāda in the orthodox schools of the Brāhmaṇas bears out the position indicated here. Śaṅkarācārya, Udayana, Vācaspati, Śrīharṣa, Vidyāraṇya and a host of other Brahminical writers have all along believed and represented the philosophy of Śūnyavāda as a denial of all ultimate existence, both subjective and objective, conscious and unconscious alike. Śrīharṣa successfully proved that the whole objective world was a mysterious appearance of which no logical explanation was possible, and this is known as '*Anirvacanīyavāda*'—the impossibility of logical explanation. The world-appearance, he argues, cannot be explained in terms either of aught or of naught. If the world were a pure non-entity, its appearance to a mind could not be explained, as a non-entity like a hare's horn or a barren woman's son was never seen to appear to a consciousness. Nor can it be regarded as a real entity, as it is seen to be sublated by subsequent experience just like the shell-silver. The silver is a non-entity no doubt, but subject to this important qualification that though a non-entity in and by itself,

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[1] Prof. Stcherbatsky calls it so; the full quotation is given above. Vide, 'The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa', Th. Stcherbatsky, Ph.D., pp. 47-48. 'The ideal state of absolute unrestrictedness....'—Yamakami Sogen, 'Systems of Buddhistic Thought,' p. 202, ...'Unconditional, independent and absolutely unrestricted..'—*Ibid*, p. 209. It would not be out of place to point out here that one school of Mādhyamikas, however, attribute the aspect of consciousness also to the Śūnya—'Kevalāṃ saṃvidaṃ svasthāṃ manyante madhyamāḥ punaḥ'.—Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, A.S.S., p. 19, quoted from Vivekavilāsa, VIII. 273. 'Kecit tu mādhyaṃikāḥ svasthaṃ jñānam āhuḥ....manyante bata madhyamāḥ kṛtadhiyaḥ svasthāṃ parāṃ Saṃvidam'.—Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya of Haribhadra with Guṇaratna's Tarkarahasyadīpikā, p. 47. The same quotation is found verbatim in the Prameyaratnakośa of Candraprabhasūri, p. 73.

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it somehow appears, which distinguishes it from pure non-entity (alīka) like a barren woman's son. So a new term had to be coined to describe these facts, viz., *mithyātva* (or falsity) as opposed to pure non-entities, which are never amenable to direct perception.[1] Śrīharṣa is accused by a hypothetical or an actual opponent of preaching a philosophy of absolute negativism for his explaining away the whole world as an illogical appearance and he was ridiculed as an advocate of absolute nihilism like the Mādhyamikas. He explains the fundamental difference of Vedāntic Absolutism from the Śūnyavāda in the following terms:

> The Buddhist nihilist, he observes, believes the whole order of existence including consciousness as an irrational appearance, but the Vedāntist maintains that Consciousness as an ultimate fact cannot be denied without self-contradiction.[2]

Ānandapūrṇa observes that the Buddhist regards consciousness as always relative to an object and the two are inseparable and indistinguishable.[3] In fact, the Buddhist here takes up the position of the subjective idealist who holds that awareness and its object are identical and argues that when the object of awareness is an unreal fiction, the awareness, too, cannot but be unreal, as two identical things cannot have opposed characteristics. The Vedāntist here joins issue and points out that the relation of object and awareness is not one of real identity, but of illusory identity, or rather one that cannot be described in terms of identity or of difference alike. The relation is a false relation and so the identity also is false. It would be height of unreason to argue into the falsity of Consciousness on the basis of this false identity. Vidyāraṇya has made a very strong case in favour of the eternal existence of Consciousness as an ultimate fact. You can deny anything, says Vidyāraṇya, but not Consciousness, because a successful denial of Consciousness is itself possible if you are conscious of it. So Consciousness is ultimately undeniable.[4]

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[1] 'Yadasad bhāsamānaṃ tan mithyā..'—Pañcadaśī, II. 70.

[2] 'Saugatabrahmavādinor ayaṃ viśeṣo yad ādimaḥ sarvam evānirvacanīyaṃ varṇayati.....vijñānavyatiriktaṃ punar idam viśvaṃ sadasadbhyām vilakṣaṇaṃ brahmavādinaḥ saṅgirante....'—Śriharṣa, Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya, Chowkhamba S.S. p., 125.

[3] 'Saṃvedanaṃ ca saṃvedyavyatirekena nopalabhyate, ato na svatantram asti—ityādiyauktikabuddhyā vivicyamānānāṃ jñānānāṃ jñeyānāṃ ca svarūpaṃ nāvagamyate. Jñeyeṇā jñānasya nirūpaṇat, jñānena ca jñeyasya nirūpaṇāt naikam api paramārtham'—Ānandapūrṇa, Vidyāsagarī, Chow. S.S., p. 126.

[4] 'Sarvabādhe na kiñcic ced yan na kiñcit tad eva tat।
Bhāṣā evātra bhidyante nirbādhaṃ tāvad asti hi '—Pañ. III. 31.

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The Ultimate Reality is held to be of the nature of Absolute Existence, Absolute Consciousness and Absolute Bliss or Joy. It may be urged that this Ultimate Reality may be mere existence and not Consciousness. But this will lead to an absurdity. An existence which is not Consciousness has no evidence in its favour. Consciousness is independent of foreign evidence, because it is self-revealing (svaprakāśa). If the Ultimate Existence be dependent upon a Consciousness different from itself, it would be found to be on the level of the material world, which Vedānta proves to be an irrational and illogical appearance, with no logical validity in it. So the Ultimate Reality cannot be unconscious. Now, it may be further argued,—'let it be Consciousness alone, why do you insist that it must be an existence?' No; if Consciousness is not an existence, it will be non-existence and hence mere void (śūnya). So the Ultimate Reality must be Existence and Consciousness both at once. And the nature of Bliss is a matter of direct experience—after all, it is the dearest of all,—the only thing a man cares to preserve and all other things are prized or hated only as they are supposed to be serviceable or hostile to one's own Self—which is Consciousness and existent Consciousness at that. We see that the exposition of the Ultimate Category as an unrestricted existence alone is not logically sound, as an Ultimate Existence is self-contradictory unless it is held to be identical with Consciousness. We find, however, in some Jaina works (referred to before) that a class of Mādhyamikas believed the Ultimate Reality to be a self-existent Consciousness and this position is undoubtedly sounder than that of the Russian and the Japanese savants. But this, too, would be an imperfect reality without the element of joy in it and Vedānta supplies the lacuna. It is a pity that the Absolute of Vedānta has been grossly misunderstood in some quarters and people have failed to note the philosophical importance of the aspect of *ānanda* (Bliss or Joy). But for this the existence of the world would be intolerable. Nay the Absolute would be the most miserable Being, imprisoned within Its own existence, which has, however, no charm for It. A feelingless and unconscious existence would be preferable to this. So Vedānta declares that It is full in Itself—full of Joy, nay, Fullness of Joy—the plenum of Existence, Consciousness and Joy. Without Joy It would fall short of Fullness and hence would not be the Absolute.

In spite of these differences, the Bauddha view, however, seems to approach very near the Advaita position. For even in this Bauddha view, this world of experience is said to be of a purely illusory nature (sāṃvṛta). Nāgārjuna, the author of the Mādhyamika-kārikās, affirms that even Lord Buddha himself did recognize two different kinds of truth:—

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(*a*) Transcendent absolute truth (paramārtha satya);
and (*b*) relative, conditional, conventional, empirical or pragmatic truth (sāṃvṛta satya).

The Advaitins, too, urge the phenomenality of the world at every step in their arguments. Had the world been a transformation of a real cause, the position of the Mādhyamikas would have been untenable. For then the product also would have been taken as real and not empirical. The drift of our discussion only points out that the *Vivarta* theory is forced upon the Mādhyamikas, if only Śūnya is regarded as conscious and joyful also. For it is Consciousness alone that can be concealed by the veiling power of nescience. Perhaps with this object in view, one school of the Mādhyamikas has described the Śūnya as of the nature of pure consciousness as already referred to in the preceding pages.

Sphoṭa and Brahman

The doctrine of illusory or apparent creation is found to be fully discussed in the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari, the celebrated exponent of the Pāninean school of Grammarians also. They generally advocate the theory of *Sphoṭa* or super-subtle Word-Essence. The indeterminate and indivisible essence of Word is the Sphoṭa. Sphoṭa (i.e., *śabda* in its ultimate and unmanifested essence) appears to be the cause of the material world (artha), from which it is non-different; and out of it the entire world-process evolves.[1] In the opinion of the Grammarians, Sphoṭa appears to be the cause of the world. It is super-subtle like the Brahman of the Monists; and so it cannot possibly transform itself into the form of this gross world. It is only taken to appear as the product. So the position of the Grammarians appears to be similar to that of the Vedāntic Monists, so far as the question of causation is concerned and the systems also seem to agree in their respective conceptions of Brahman and Sphoṭa as spiritual in nature. Bhartṛhari and his commentators emphasize the spiritual nature of Sphoṭa, which is also described as Brahman, eternal and imperishable. The creation of the multiform world takes place by a process of differentiation in the indivisible essence of Śabda Brahman into a word and a sense—

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[1] 'Anādinidhanaṃ brahma śabdatattvaṃ yad akṣaram |
Vivartate'rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ ||'
—Vākyapadīya, I. 1.

By using the expression 'vivartate' Bhartṛhari explicitly states that matter is the vivarta of the super-subtle Word-essence.

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though the two are one in nature. The differentiation is rather illusory so far as the identity of Brahman is concerned.[1]

In introducing his philosophy of Sphoṭa, Bhartṛhari has described it as existent with the help of the expression—'without origin and annihilation', and as omnipresent by the term '*brahma*'[2]. But as we have already stated above, the theory of illusory or apparent causation (Vivartavāda) is possible only if the veiling power of nescience is accepted. In the Monistic system, Brahman, though non-related, appears to be so by the operation of the veiling power of *avidyā*, and thereby appears as the world. Again, in the opinion of the Monists, Consciousness alone can be covered up by nescience. If the Sphoṭa, on the other hand, be unconscious, it cannot be regarded as concealed and cannot, therefore, be regarded as only appearing as matter in the manner already explained. Mādhava has also regarded Sphoṭa as conscious and spiritual in nature, and the universe as an illusory appearance superimposed on it. If that be the real position of the Grammarians, there seems to be very little difference between Advaitavāda and Śabdabrahmavāda. Jayanta, too, sees no difference, if the Sphoṭa, he observes, be looked upon as a conscious principle, as found in the Upaniṣads[3].

If the interpretation of the later commentators can be accepted as truly representing the original philosophy of Bhartṛhari, then also we do not find any material difference between the two positions —Vedantic Monism and that of the Grammarians. The question is raised,—how can there be related to Pure Consciousness (which Śabda Brahman is by itself)—a second principle, viz., ignorance? The answer is given—yes; there can be no real relation, but one is assumed on the evidence of ego-consciousness and the like to function upon Consciousness. And in reality the cause of all effects is *avidyā* or ignorance alone.[4]

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1 '....nirvibhāgaḥ śabdārthamayo bodhasvabhāvaḥ śabdaḥ sphoṭalakṣaṇa eva vākyam'—Puṇyarāja's commentary on the Vākyapadīya, p. 71.

2 'Anādinidhanapadaniveditā vastusattā nityatvaṃ brahmapadapratipāditaṃ ca vyāpitvam.'—Nyāyamañjarī, V.S.S., p. 531.

3 'Acetanatvena śabdasya Īśvarasyeva sraṣṭṛtvānupapatteḥ'—Nyāyamañjarī, V.S.S., p. 535. Also—'Atha vijñānam ānandaṃ brahmety āgamavacanam anusaratā vibhutvam iva cetanatvam api śabdabrahmaṇo varṇyate, tarhi Īśvarasyaiva śabdabrahmeti nāma kṛtaṃ syāt....'—Ibid., pp. 535-6.

4 Vaiyākaraṇasiddhantamañjūṣā of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa with the commentary Kuñjikā by Durbalācārya, Chow. S.S., p. 393.

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CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF THE EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE OF DELHI—II

By AZIZ AHMAD

The Imperial Council (Majlis-i-Khas)

A strong family likeness marks the administrative organization of all the autocratic States. The central government of India in those days was modelled on the lines of the 'monarchies of Persia',[1] which were, in their turn, 'deeply influenced by the Roman conceptions of government and law'. Many resemblances are, therefore, noticed between the governments of the Roman Emperors and the Sultans of Delhi.

The Sultan was the final executive authority for all State-affairs. Yet, in obedience to the time-honoured custom, he summoned a council of the highest officers and allies (*Majlis-i-Khas*) to discuss the more important problems such as executive, legislative and financial. The council had no constitutional or legal powers; but was merely a consultative body and its meetings were held in secret. Nobody could attend it as a matter of right; the Emperor summoned whomsoever he liked. Nevertheless it was a thing of reality, and indirectly held in check the great powers of the autocrat. The Sultan was bound to act according to its unanimous verdict on a certain question, and its joint advice went a great way in moulding the policy of the Emperor. A monarch, who kept matters confidentially, was naturally looked upon with an eye of suspicion.

Side by side, there was another council called *Majlis-i-Khilwat* [2] (Privy Council) to which only the most trusted officials and servants were invited. The four ministers generally attended, and informed the Sultan about the affairs of their respective departments. The Sultan took a keen interest in such matters as affected the welfare of the subjects and prosperity of the empire.

The Sultan frequently held *Majlis-i-Aish* [3] (Convivial Assembly), to which persons of his taste were alone invited. Here the Sultan

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1 Zia Berni-Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 26.

2 It is different from the *Majlis-i-Khas* as described above. Mr. Makhdoomi (Journal of Indian History, Madras, April 1935, p. 97) confuses the *Majlis-i-Khilwat* with *Majlis-i-Khas*.

3 Mr. Makhdoomi in the same articles (p. 98) holds that 'in the *Bar-i-Am* the king also indulged in seeing elephant fights, falcon flying, and even reviewed the army'—which is quite incorrect. It was in the *Majlis-i-Aish* that the Sultan indulged

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indulged in luxury and amusements, and witnessed games such as elephant fight, falcon flying and wrestling matches. Such royal festivities were arranged and supervised by the Barbak (Master of Ceremonies) or *Amir-i-Majlis* [1] (Lord of Assembly). The minor officers and servants attached to the assembly were as follows:—

Khasa-dar [2] (personal attendant),
Saq-i-Khas [3] (personal cup-bearer),
Tasht-dar [4] (keeper of royal basin),
Sharab-dar [5] (keeper of drinkables),
Jama-dar [6] (keeper of the royal robe),
Dawat-dar [7] (keeper of writing case),
Chashnigir [8] (controller of the royal kitchen),
Naib-i-Chashnigir [9] (assistant controller),
Shola-dar [10] (keeper of the torch),
Yuzban [11] (keeper of the hunting leopards),
Bazdar [12] (falconer),
Sar-i-Chatr dar [13] (head of the State canopy bearers),
Behla-dar [14] (bearer of the royal purse),
Mehtar-i-Farrash [15] (chief of carpet spreaders), and
Mussallidar (keeper of the royal carpet for saying prayers).

The Imperial Court (Majlis-i-Am or Bar-i-am)

Majlis-i-Am [16] was radically different from the Imperial Council. It was a public Court and not a consultative or private assembly. It was the highest administrative organ, where the Sultan transacted all the business of the State. The Emperor sat upon the throne with an air of dignity and authority. Red and black canopies were *together* [17] regarded as an insignia of royalty and 'elephants' and *naubat* [18] (beating of drums) were the exclusive privileges of the Emperor. The name of the sovereign was read in the *Khutba* and

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in such amusements. The same writer further mentions no such assembly as *Majlis-i-Aish*.

1 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 238, 239.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 282.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 251.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 254.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 268.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*, p. 242.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*, pp. 248, 249.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*, p. 251.
14 *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255.
15 *Ibid.*
16 Zia Berni Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 30.
17 Sultan Nasir-ud-Din had two canopies—black and the other red—see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 318. The standards of Iltutmish were black and red—Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 179.
18 '*Naubat*' does not mean 'music' as Mr. Makhdoomi writes (see Journal of Indian History, April 1935, p. 99).

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inscribed on the coinage. Green or red canopies and robes of honour [1] were bestowed upon the Maliks and Amirs as a token of personal distinction.

The Emperor sat upon the throne on a high-raised platform. Behind him stood a body-guard of slaves with drawn swords, police-officer, head-executioner, royal purse-bearer, commander of forces, sergeants, head-swordsmen, wrestlers, and lastly horses and elephants glorifying the right and left wings of the army.[2] In front of the throne stood the *Amir-i-Hajib* (Lord Chamberlain) who maintained law and order in the Court. The *Amir-i-Hajib* was assisted by *Naib-i-Amir-i-Hajib* [3] (Deputy to Lord Chamberlain) and an army of chamberlains called *Hujjabs*, *Malik-ul-Hujjab* or *Amir-ul-Hujjab* (head of the chamberlains),[4] *Hajib-ul Hujjab* (chief of the chamberlains), and *Ulgh-i-Khas-i-Hajib* (the chief royal chamberlain).[5]

The ceremonies of the Court were 'humiliating and servile'. *Sijdah* (prostration) and *Nazar* (an offer to the Sultan) were regarded as essentials of etiquette. Access to the Sultan was generally granted and every one was allowed to lay his application in person before the Sultan through the *Amir-i-Hajib*. The programme of the day was drawn up beforehand, yet the sittings of the Court were long and tiresome. The Sultan sat as a chief Judge, decided cases and reviewed appeals from the Qazis' Court. He further received envoys, granted interviews to governors, Raes, Ranas, princes, Muqaddams [6] (head villagemen) and other officials, and transacted all the business of the State. *Amir-i-Hajib* read out the application to the Sultan for his verdict, and then the *Mohar-dar* (Keeper of the Royal Seal) fixed the seal on the royal orders. The applications were ultimately handed over to the different *Dabirs* (Secretaries) for their final disposal. In criminal cases, the judgment was enforced there and then by a number of *Jallads* (Executioners). Provincial administration was, however, separately dealt by the various Ministries.

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1 Rukn-ud-Din Firoz Shah was granted the fief of Badaun along with a *green* canopy. Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan was dignified with a canopy of State and a standard in the reign of Sultan Raziyya—see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 182 and 243. Sultan Alaud-Din Masud Shah despatched a *red* canopy and a robe of honour to Malik Tughril-i-Tughan Khan—see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 199.

2 Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Berni, p. 30.

3 Malik Taj-ud-DinSanjar-i-Tez Khan was Amir-i-Hajib in the reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din—see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 260.

4 Alaud-Din Ayaz Guzjani was appointed Malik-ul-Hujjab or Amir-ul-Hujjab—see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 293.

5 Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 302.

6 Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Berni, p. 31.

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The Regent

An extraordinary office of *Naib-ul-Mulk* or *Malik Naib* (Regent) was created on special occasions either on account of the minority of the monarch or his weakness. The Regent stood in the Emperor's place, and carried on the government on behalf of the Sultan. He was, in fact, above the ministers, and his position was greater than that of any other servant of the crown. Being a representative of the Sultan, he stood for his royalty; while the highest civil officer was the *Vizier*. The office of Regent, however, proved a great menace to the personal security of its holder as well as to the integrity of the empire. The high position of the *Naib*, on the one hand, provoked bitter enmity on the part of other officers, while, on the other hand, it incited the Regent to aspire for the throne.

The Regent always struggled for political supremacy, and his mismanagement and cruel administration was often responsible for the spread of a general revolt in the empire. Shah-Turkan, the mother of Sultan Raknud-Din, acted as his Regent, and assumed the charge of government. She was, however, put to death for her acts of barbarity. The Maliks elected Muizud-Din Behram Shah on the condition that Malik Ikhtiar-ud-Din Aetkin would act as his Regent. He assumed triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant before his gate —a set of special privileges, which the sovereign alone could enjoy in those days—for which he lost his head.[1] Qutbud-Din, son of Ali Ghori, was appointed *Naib-ul-Mulk* to Sultan Alaud-Din Masud Shah.[2] Again, Sultan Nasir-ud-Din found himself unequal to the task of government; he, therefore, made Balban his *Naib*.[3] Malik Nizam-ud-Din was the Regent of Sultan Muizud-Din Kaiqabad,[4] and he aspired for the throne at the cost of his neck. Shamsud-Din Kaikaus had Shaista Khan as his *Naib*.[5] It is obvious from the above that only weak rulers had Regents to carry on the government, while the strong sovereigns like Qutbud-Din, Iltutmish, Raziyya and Balban kept no such office under their charge.

The four Ministries

In accordance with a well-established principle as borrowed from Persia, the Sultan was assisted in his executive work by a cabinet of four ministers. There were five principal departments under Mahmud of Ghazna—*Diwan-i-Wizarat* (Finance Department), *Diwan-i-Arz* (Military) *Diwan-i-Risalat* (Correspondence), *Diwan-i-Vikalat*

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[1] Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 182.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 294.
[5] Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Berni, p. 131.

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or *Wakalat* (Household Department),[1] and *Diwan-i- Shughl-i-Ishraf-i-Mamlukat* (Secret Service Department). The central government of India was divided into several departments, the heads of four of which enjoyed the status of ministers. Under the direct supervision of the Emperor the business of the State was carried on by the four traditional ministries—*Diwan-i-Wizarat* (Revenue or Finance), *Diwan-i-Arz* (Military), *Diwan-i-Insha*[2] (Local Government), and *Diwan-i-Risalat*[3] (Ministry of Appeals). Bughra Khan, while advising his son, said, 'Do not fail to form a cabinet of four ministers, " the pillars of the State", and discuss all the confidential secrets of the State in the presence of all the four. Though the rank of the Vizier is higher, but you should not allow any of them to predominate over the other'. Each ministry was under the charge of a minister (*Sahib-i-Diwan*) and a deputy minister (*Naib-i-Diwan*).[4] The powers and functions of these ministers widely differed at different times. The procedure of work also changed, and along with it, their duties were also transferred from one to another. However, much depended upon the personality of the Emperor and the character of ministers. A confidant of the Sultan like Nizam-ud-Din the *Dad-bak* could easily be entrusted with the powers of a Regent, while an active and powerful sovereign like Balban regarded the ministers as mere executive officers to carry out his orders.

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1 'Mahmud of Ghazna' by Dr. Nazim, p. 130.

2 Not the 'Department of Correspondence' as Mr. Makhdoomi states—see Journal of Indian History, Madras, April 1935, p. 101.

3 Not 'Diwan-i-Riyasat', which does not seem to possess a high status and as such should not be reckoned among the four ministries—see 'Third Oriental Conference, Madras', 1924, p. 313. Even in the reign of Sultan Alaud-Din Khilji, Diwan-i-Riyasat (Ministry of Markets) is not mentioned among the four ministries—see Berni, pp. 153, 337, 374.

4 It is incorrect to say that a ministry was under the minister (*Diwan* or *Naib-i-Diwan*) and that there was no deputy minister. Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq appointed Bahaud-Din as Ariz and Malik Taj-ud-Din as *Naib-i-Ariz*—see Berni's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 428. Again, when Khusro Khan was the *Vizier* of Mubarak Khilji, Fazlullah and Mughis-ud-Din acted as his *Naib-i-Vizier* (Berni, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 379).

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THE VEDAS AND ADHYĀTMA TRADITION

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

It is now high time for Vedic scholars to realize, if they would redeem Vedic studies from stagnation, that the orthodox and traditional interpretation of the Vedas is essentially *ādhyātmic*. The Brāhmaṇa writers of old look upon the vedas as documents of spiritual culture. Modern scholars no doubt have spent infinite labour on handling the texts and interpreting them, but they were circumscribed in their scope mostly to sifting antiquarian material which had only by chance become incorporated in these works. Where the interpretation of Vedic thought confronts them with difficulty the language of the hymns is declared to be obscure, and most of the mystical expressions are taken to be incoherent on account of the imperfect understanding of the grammar of philosophic ideas behind them. There is only one solution to this difficulty. We should now begin to study more closely the explanations of the mystical Vedic terminology offered in the indigenous literature, specially the Brāhmaṇas and the Araṇyakas, which are replete with interpretational material that has remained useless in the absence of the *Adhyātmavid* School of Vedic interpreters. Unfortunately there are many today who could claim to represent the Aitahasikas and Ākhyānavidas of Yāska, but very few who could say that they are carrying on the torch of the Adhyātma-vidas referred to in the Nirukta. The Asyavāmīya *sūkta* of the Rigveda (I. 164) is a case in point. No rational explanation of this highly philosophic hymn has yet been offered. Even what little Sāyaṇa did in that way has been treated with indifference. This hymn offers little in the way of the material aspect of culture, but its importance for the elucidation of Aryan thought in respect of the philosophy of soul and the theory of creation cannot be over-estimated. For example, the oft-quoted verse 46 emphatically speaks of the one Supreme Spirit occupying the centre of all pantheistic conception:

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाऊ-
रथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बऊधा वदन्त्य-
ग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाऊः ॥

i.e., Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Garutmā Suparṇa, Yama, Mātariśvā, these are some of the names the sages apply to the One. The

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Bālakhilya hymn in the eighth Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda re-echoes the same idea:

एकं वा इदं विबभूव सर्वम् ।

'The One has modified as the All.'

The One is the central entity, the object of all knowledge. In the recognition of this fact lies the paramount truth of Vedic metaphysics:

ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन्
यस्मिन् देवा अधिविश्वे निषेदुः ।
यस्तन्न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति
य इत्तद्विदुस्त इमे समासते ॥

Rig. I. 164. 39.

'In the highest Akshara is the source of the Riks; there do all the Gods reside. Who know not Him of what use to them the Riks! But who know Him, theirs is the glory to sit in synods.' Esoteric knowledge is extolled here in the most emphatic style. The belief in the fundamental unity of Vedic knowledge reverberates through the Upanishads and the Gitā:

सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति
तपाꣳसि सर्वाणि च यद्वदन्ति ।
यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति
तत्ते पदꣳ संग्रहेण ब्रवीम्योमित्येतत् ॥

Kaṭha Up., II. 15; Gita, VIII. 11.

The highest entity, designated Om is said to be the object of profound religious meditation.

Yāska is emphatic in censuring bookish learning in which there is no attempt to probe into deeper mysteries of meaning. 'Dense as a block and a mere load-bearer is he who reads the texts without comprehending the secret meaning. But happy is he before whom the sense lies revealed, he of purified soul certainly attains to heavenly bliss.' The author of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka is even more severe in his castigation of him who fails to realize the *ādhyātmic* truth behind the words of the texts. The particular portion of the book enunciating this point of view is called the Veda-śirā Upanishad. It says: He who reads the Veda without understanding that secret which is the crown of the Riks, summit of the Yajus, head of the

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Samans and cranium of the Atharvans is nescient, he is like a trunk with head detached.

ॐ ऋचां मूर्धानं यजुषामुत्तमांगं
साम्नां शिरोऽथर्वणां मुखमुखम् ।
नाधीतेऽधीते वेदमाऊरुमजं
शिरश्छित्त्वाऽसौ कुरुते कबन्धम् ॥

Sāṅkh. Araṇyaka, XIV. 1.

It imparts to the *ādhyātmic* point of view its true position as the essence of the *Trayī* doctrine. Kalidāsa, whose works of genius were inspired by the best traditions of ancient Aryan culture, reiterates this position in the following immortal lines:

मंगलालंकृता भाति कौशिक्या यतिवेषया ।
त्रयी विग्रहवत्येव सममध्यात्मविद्यया ॥

Māl. I. 14.

'The Queen wearing an auspicious attire appears beautiful in the company of Kauśikī robed as a nun, just as the Trayī knowledge would shine in the company of incarnate Adhyātma Vidyā.'

Let us illustrate by an actual example the difference in the meaning of a *mantra* interpreted in accordance with the *ādhyātmic* (i.e. traditional) and non-*ādhyātmic* points of view:

पतंगमक्तमसुरस्य मायया हृदा पश्यन्ति मनसा विपश्चितः ।
समुद्रे अन्तः कवयो विचक्षते मरीचीनाम्पदमिच्छन्ति वेधसः ॥

Rik. X. 177. 1.

Griffith's rendering:—

'The sapient with their spirit and their mind behold the Bird adorned with all an Asura's magic might. Sages observe him in the ocean's utmost depth; the wise disposers seek the station of his rays.' We confess inability to make out sense from this muddle of words. Now let us turn to the meaning of the Brāhmaṇas. In the Jaiminīya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa this mantra is quoted and the following explanation offered:

प्राणो वै पतंगः । पतन्निव ह्येष्वंगेष्वेति रथमुदीक्षते । पतंग इत्याचक्षते । असुरस्य माययेति । मनो वा असुरम् । तद्यसुषु रमते । तस्यैष मायया अक्तः । हृदा पश्यन्ति मनसा विपश्चित इति । हृदैव ह्येते पश्यन्ति यन्मनसा विपश्चितः । समुद्रे अन्तः कवयो

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विचक्षत इति। पुरुषो वै समुद्र एवं विद उ कवयः। त इमां पुरुषेऽन्तर्वाचं विचक्षते। मरीचीनां पदमिच्छन्ति वेधस इति। मरीच्य इव वा एता देवता यदग्निर्वायुरादित्यश्चन्द्रमाः।

'The discerning sages behold with their intuitional eye the *prāṇic* power functioning under the influence of the mind. Within their own body they seek and realize the powers of the various gods.'

A comparison of the two meanings is enough to bring home to us with conviction the wisdom of adopting the esoteric meaning wherever available. In the face of this clear enunciation of meaning free from obscurity or incoherence may we not in justice demand of our modern critical interpreters of the Veda to revise their exegetical canons? Indeed if properly explored the Brāhmaṇa literature will be rediscovered as the veritable mine of information in connection with the *ādhyātmic* exposition of many Vedic terms.

What the old writers chiefly emphasize appertains to the spiritual (*adhyātma*) and the cosmic (*adhidaiva*) workings of creation, the secrets of the microcosm as explained in the light of the macrocosm. A clear grasp of the essential correspondence between these two orders as envisaged by the Vedic seers, is indispensable for a proper understanding of the numerous passages in the Brāhmaṇas. The microcosm within the body functions on the model of the external cosmos and both in turn throw light on the ritual of the *vaidha* sacrifice. The human body bears the likeness of Yajña, says a Brāhmaṇa passage:

पुरुषो वाव यज्ञः।

The workings of the human system are only a small-scale representation of the vastly extended cosmic processes working on the *virāṭ* plane. In Vedic imagery the relation of the two is indicated by saying that the microcosm is related to the macrocosm as *Vāmana* is to *Vishnu*:—

वामनो ह विष्णुरास। Śat. Br. I, 2. 5. 5.

स हि वैष्णवो यद्वामनः। Śat. Br. V, 2. 5. 4.

If it is a fact that वामन and विष्णु are inter-related, it becomes indispensable for our purpose of interpreting the Vedic texts correctly to grasp this correspondence in terms of the ritual of the sacrifice as it seeks to interpret through its symbolism the microcosm and the macrocosm. True to this the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads emphasize the *prāṇic* aspect of Agnihotra.

We have the famous passage in the Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa of the Rigveda:

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पुरुषो वै यज्ञस्तस्य शिर एव हविर्धाने मुखमाहवनीयः उदरं सदोऽन्नमुक्थानि बाहू मार्जालीयश्चाऽऽग्नीध्रीयश्च...तस्य मन एव ब्रह्मा, प्राण उद्गाताऽपानः प्रस्तोता, व्यानः प्रतिहर्ता, वाग्घोता, चक्षुरध्वर्युः, प्रजापतिः सदस्यः, आत्मा यजमानोऽंगानि होत्राशंसिनः।

Śāṅkh. Br., XVII. 7

Examples can be multiplied without effort. It is indeed possible to compile a whole volume of Vedic words and give their *ādhyātmic* meanings from the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas. This will be the first genuine step for the reconstruction of the lost tradition of the ādhyātmic school, which once flourished so vigorously. With it the science of Vedic interpretation will also receive a new orientation and fresh impetus. The first essential thing is that scholars should cast off their prejudices against the *adhyātma* school. Then only can they redeem Vedic exposition from its present insipid state. Dr. E. J. Thomas lately remarked in his Foreword to *Vedic Gods* by Dr. V. G. Rele that the state of Vedic interpretation 'looks like a case of stalemate, where no theory can claim general acceptance'. 'Even when we think of German scholars, Ludwig, Kaegi, Pischel, Geldner, Oldenberg, or of the French school, Bergaigne, Regnaud, Henry, it cannot be said that Vedic studies are in a healthy state'. Dr. Rele adduces evidence in favour of the biological interpretation of Vedic deities, and referring to this new key or new angle of vision, Dr. Thomas appropriately remarked that 'It will help the scholars of India to realize, as we are learning in the West, that the great problem is not yet solved'. Let us sincerely recognize that the *ādhyātmic* school of interpretation is most deeply rooted in the orthodox tradition of the ancient exegetical works, and that the copious material which they offer merits better treatment at our hands than that of cold neglect usually meted out to it. The various Brāhmaṇas like the Śatapatha, Aitareya, Taittirīya, and the voluminous Jaiminīya (now in course of publication from Lahore) have in the main followed the *adhyātma* tradition. We have only to apply our modern methods of critical research to reclaim that valuable material.

Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Vishṇu, Prajāpati, Soma, and many other words were once freely used to denote a host of physical and spiritual conceptions which await first to be duly recognized by modern *Nairuktas* and then to be applied in the course of their interpretations. To take only one example; we have a rich crop of meanings associated with Soma, and we cannot with justice restrict the meaning only to the Soma plant. The following is a list excerpted from the *Vaidika Kosha* of Pt. Bhagavad Datta and Pt. Hans Raja of Lahore:

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प्राणः सोमः । श्र० ७।३।१।२

प्राणो वै सोमः । श्र० ७।३।१।४५।

प्राणो हि सोमः । तां० ६।६।१, ५।

सोमो वै वाजपेयः । तै० १।३।२।३

रेतः सोमः । श्र० १।६।२।६॥२।५।१।६॥३।८।५।२॥

सोमो वै वृष्णो अश्वस्य रेतः । तै० ३।६।५।५।

अन्नं सोमः । कौ० ६।६॥ श्र० ३।३।४।२८।

श्रीर्वै सोमः । श्र० ४।१।३।६।

सत्यं श्रीः ज्योतिः सोमः । श्र० ५।१।२।१०।

राजा वै सोमः । श्र० १४।१।३।१२

चन्द्रमा वै सोमः । श्र० १२।१।१।२।

वृत्रो वै सोम आसीत् । श्र० ३।४।३।१३

पितृलोकः सोमः । कौ० १६।५

संवत्सरो वै सोमः पितृमान् । तै० १।६।८।२।

सोमो हि प्रजापतिः । श्र० ५।१।५।२६

यदाह श्येनोऽसीति सोमं वा एतदाह । गो० पु० ५।१२।

यो वै विष्णुः सोमः सः । श्र० ३।३।४।२१।

सोमो वै पवमानः । श्र० २।२।३।२२

योऽयं वायुः पवत एष सोमः । श्र० ७।३।१।१

सोमो वा इन्दुः । श्र० २।२।३।२३

सोमो रात्रिः । श्र० ३।४।४।१५

सोमो वै चतुर्होता । तै० २।३।१।१

सोमो वै पर्णः । श्र० ६।५।१।१।

पशुर्वै प्रत्यक्षꣳ सोमः । श्र० ५।१।३।७

सोमो वै दधि । कौ० ८।६

सोमो वै भाट् । श्र० ३।२।४।६

वर्चः सोमः । श्र० ५।२।५।१०

क्षत्रं सोमः । श्र० ३।४।१।१०

यशो वै सोमः । श्र० ४।२।४।६

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शुक्रः सोमः । तां० ६।६।६

रसः सोमः । ग्र० ७।३।१।३

पुमान् वै सोमः स्त्री सुरा । तै० १।३।३।४

सोमः पयः । ग्र० १२।७।३।१३

In different contexts Soma stands as a synonym for vitality, strength, germ, food, glory, truth, lustre, moon, Vṛitra (enveloper), year, Prajāpati, eagle, Vishṇu, Pavamāna, air, night, Indu, leaf, animal, curds, kingly power, fame, fluid, milk, etc. In further elaboration it is given in these texts that the male principle is Soma and the female Surā; or that the quality of dryness appertains to Agni and of humidity to Soma:

यच्छुष्कं तदाग्नेयं
यदार्द्रं तत्सौम्यम् ।

This rich material opens up a vast vista of research on the meaning of Soma. In face of this overwhelming evidence it is un-scientific to insist on only one meaning of Soma, viz. a kind of plant. It is impossible for any conscientious worker to overlook the much wider meanings of that word, and the test of scholarship lies in the capacity to judge rightly the application of a particular meaning in a particular context; we cannot in any case reject the entire evidence summarily. As a matter of fact no Vedic scholar, can do justice to his task without bringing under his control this rich store-house of terminology and its technical explanations from the Brāhmanical and Upanishadic literature. We should wherever possible supplement the Brāhmanical evidence with parallel passages from the Sūtras, the Epic and the Purāṇas. For example, the Mahābhārata says:—

एभिरित्युच्यते चान्नं वेद आपोऽमृतं तथा ।
ममैतानि सदा गर्भः एभिर्गर्भस्ततो ह्यहम् ॥
Sāntis, 341. 45.

यः सोमस्तद्ब्रह्म...योऽग्निस्तत्त्वचम् ।
Sānti, 342. 9.

मुञ्जं शरीरमित्याऽऽहरिषीकामात्मनि स्थिताम् ।
Āśvamedhika, 19. 23.

So also the explanation of *Daśahotṛi* (Ch. 21) *Saptahotṛi* (Ch. 22), *Pañchahotṛi* (Ch. 23), *Chāturhotra* (Ch. 25) is contained in the

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Aśvamedha Parva and the dialogue of Brāhmaṇa-Brāhmaṇī (Manas-Buddhi) in the same place throws light on several kindred words.

Finally we must remember that the doctrine of प्राण is the key-note of the numerous mythical legends. Most of the explanations in the Brāhmaṇas converge on the exposition of the mysterious force called Prāṇa or Life. Prāṇa and Apāna are said to be the two celestial priests:—

प्राणापानौ वै दैव्या होतारा। Ait. II. 4

They are the divine physicians (*daivī bhishak*, Artharva, VII, 53. 1, 2), and also the *Prayājas* and *Anuyājas* of a sacrifice. The vital airs indeed represent the highest substance:—

तस्मादस्य सर्वस्य प्राणा उत्तमाः। Śat. VIII. 7. 7. 21

The Prāṇas are also spoken of as the primeval Rishis whose sacrifice initiates the cosmic process. It appears as if the Vedic metaphysicians interpreted all physical phenomena in terms of Prāṇa or the Vital Energy that functions at the root of each and every thing and is itself the foundation of all. Prāṇa is conceived as the paramount universal principle visible in all cosmic phenomena whether working on the universal plane or within the human body. Prāṇa is the mysterious *something*, the subtle principle which permeates gods and men, and distinguishes the immortal from the mortal. To the Vedic seers Prāṇa partaking of the nature of Brahman, represented the comprehensive metaphysical substratum to which they could trace the endless divergences of the external world. The manifold interpretations of the *ādhyātmic* school naturally concentrate on Prāṇa and they gain in importance from the light they are capable of throwing on one or the other aspect of this Vital Force.

But it is not possible to forestall all the lines of interpretation and research that may emerge in the course of the *ādhyātmic* approach to vedic texts. What we plead for is the recognition of the *Adhyātma-vid* School and the readjustment of our canons of research to that end.

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PRABHĀKARABHAṬṬA, THE BROTHER OF RATNĀKARABHAṬṬA, THE GURU OF SEVAI JAISING OF AMBER

By P. K. GODE

I have reconstructed elsewhere [1] the genealogy of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, the author of the celebrated work on Dharmaśāstra called the *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma*. In this genealogy occurs the name of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa who was the brother of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. According to the testimony of the *Iśvaravilasakāvya* of Kṛṣṇakavi composed about 1744 A.D., Prabhākarabhaṭṭa was a habitual resident of Mathura though his son Vrajanātha resided at Jaipur in company of Maharaja Sevai Jaising. It appears that Ratnākarabhaṭṭa's family had a Deccani origin [2] and it is possible to suppose that his

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[1] *Vide* my article on '*The Aśvamedha performed by Sevai Jaising of Amber* (1699–1744 A.D.)' in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, p. 174. The genealogy of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa as reconstructed by me on the evidence of MSS. is as follows:

Devabhaṭṭa → —*Prabhākara* (A.D. 1734) → —*Vrajanātha* (A.D. 1755)
(Surname Mahāśabda—of Śāṇḍilya Gotra.) —*Gokulanātha*
—*Ratnākara* (A.D. 1713) → *Gaṅgārama* (1755 A.D.) → *Rāmeśvara* (1755 A.D.) → *Viśveśvara* (after 1788 A.D.)

My friend Pandit Hari Narayan Purohit, B.A. of Jaipur informs me in a private communication dated 12-9-1938 that there is a grand building and garden at Jaipur which once belonged to Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, the guru of Sevai Jaising. The descendants of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa are still living at Jaipur. His library of rare MSS. or rather a portion of it that survived was added to the Private Library of H.H. the Maharaja of Jaipur. I may suggest that a Manuscripts Library in the name of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa should be opened by the Jaipur Darbar as a permanent memorial of the spiritual and religious association of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa with Maharaja Sevai Jaising which brought about a revival of Hindu religion in his reign.

[2] *Vide* p. 170, *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II. My reasons for proving the Deccani origin of this family are as follows:—

(1) In the *Iśvaravilasakāvya* Ratnākarabhaṭṭa is called '*Ṛgvedi*' (fol. 37 of MS. No. 273 of 1883-84.—B.O.R. Institute MSS. Library) verse 8.

(2) The *gotra* of this family was '*Śāṇḍilya*' as stated by Ratnākarabhaṭṭa in verse 27 of the *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* (fol. 4 of B.O.R., I, MS. 253 of 1887–91).

(3) The family deity was '*Rāmacandra*' as Ratnākarabhaṭṭa calls himself '*Ramānghri-pravaṇa*'. (*Vide* verse 27 of *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* referred to above.)

(4) The surname of the family was '*Mahāśabda*' which is equal to '*Mahāśabde*' now current in the Deccan among Ṛgvedi Deśastha Brahmins of Śāṇḍilya gotra. This surname is recorded by Viśveśvara, the great grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. (*Ibid.*, p. 173).

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father or grandfather may have migrated from the Deccan first to Benares and thence to Jaipur.

Though in my previous papers I have gathered some information about Ratnākarabhaṭṭa and Vrajanātha (his nephew) I could not get any information about Vrajanātha's father, viz. Prabhākarabhaṭṭa beyond the fact that he was a resident of Mathura (' *Mathuraikavāsī*') and that his Son Vrajanātha was a follower of Vallabhācārya.[1] The very names Vrajanātha and his brother Gokulanātha indicate the influence of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa's residence at Mathura.

The influence of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa on Maharaja Sevai Jaising appears to have been very great as he was his *guru*. It is, however, interesting to find that even his nephew Vrajanātha and his brother Prabhākarabhaṭṭa had much to do with the course of political events during the reign of Sevai Jaising. In fact they were his advisers on important matters of state and in diplomatic negotiations. These remarks can be substantiated by a contemporary letter dated *16th August*, 1734,[2] from an agent of the Peshwa at Jaipur who reports to his master at Poona as follows:—' I, Babuji Joshi, in paying my respects to Shrimant Rajeśrī Svāmī (= Peshwa) have to report that owing to the blessings of the Svāmī I (the writer) have fared well up to *Śrāvaṇa vadi* 14, Friday. It was only yesterday that I received the letter of Dināṇāthji, who returned to Mathura after marriage. Dhondo Govind is at present at Delhi, engaged in carrying out the orders of the Svāmī. His letters will reach you shortly. In particular (I have to state): Dināṇāthji came to Mathura, where *Vṛjanātha*, the purohit of Raje Jaising is staying at present. (In spite of his being a *purohit*) he holds considerable influence at present.[3] He has addressed one letter to you and also one letter to me to the effect that Raje (i.e. Sevai Jaising) was very much distressed on account of the molestations to his territory caused by Malharji Holkar and Rānoji Sinde. He desires to maintain friendly relations (with you) at least in future and for this very purpose Vṛjanāthji pressed Dināṇāthji to stay at Mathura and letters were despatched to us. If, therefore, you are inclined to make an alliance with Raje Jaising kindly arrange to send a letter to Āyāmalji stating that Dināṇāthji has been sent to him as your representative to speak on your behalf.

At Māṅgdari in the Bhor State near Poona there is a temple of Rāmacandra the family deity of the Mahāśabdes belonging to that place.

[1] *Vide* my article on *Vaidikavaiṣṇavasadācāra* (*Bombay Uni. Journal*, Vol. VI, Part VI (May 1938), p. 84, footnotes 1, 2 and 3.

[2] *Peshwa Daftar Selections*, Vol. XXX, Letter No. 108, dated 16-8-1734. 'Babuji Joshi reports Jaising having deputed one Dinanath to open peace-talks with the Peshwa'.

[3] *Ibid*—' सांप्रत काळांत दीननाथजी यांची चाल फार आहे '

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Kindly send one responsible man to us with Dinānāthji. Exchange of views will thus be facilitated—so much should be stated in your letter. You may also add that you desire to see him personally. In short he is a very influential man and hence it is desirable to make friends with him so that our object may be gained in course of time. *Vṛjanātha Dīkṣita* and his father *Prabhākar Dīkṣita* have sent a letter to you (Svāmī). After a perusal of that letter kindly reply to them in a gratifying manner.'[1]

I have no doubt that Vrajanātha mentioned in the above letter of A.D. 1734 is identical with Vrajanātha the son of Prabhākara as we know from the *Iśvaravilasakāvya* of Kṛṣṇakavi (1744 A.D.). Vrajanātha and his brother Gokulanātha were always in the company of Sevai Jaising (तौ भ्रातरौ संनिहितौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथां दधाने ॥ ९ ॥ प्राज्ञोत्तम श्रीव्रजनाथवक्त्रविनिर्गतां शास्त्रकथामजस्रं। शृण्वन्सविद्वत्समुदायमध्ये धर्मेण कालं सकलं निनाय ॥ १० ॥ Obviously Sevai Jaising enjoyed their company very much on account of his own religiosity and the capacity of Vrajanātha to expound *dharma* to his royal patron.

My identification of *Vṛjanāth Dīkṣita* mentioned in the *Peshwa Daftar* letter with *Vrajanātha* the nephew of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa is further supported by the identity of parentage, the father's name Prabhākara being common to both the cases. From Syāma Laṭṭu's *Mādhavasiṁhāryāśataka*[2] (composed in A.D. 1755) we know that Vrajanātha was patronized by Madhosing, the son of Sevai Jaising, twenty-one years after A.D. 1734, the year of the *Peshwa Daftar* letter of Babuji Joshi. Even in A.D. 1734 Vrajanātha was competent to negotiate an alliance with Dinānathji, the Peshwa's representative and to enter into diplomatic correspondence with the Peshwa Bajirao the First, who has been advised by his agent Babuji Joshi to seek his friendship on account of the tremendous personal influence of Vrajanātha over Sevai Jaising. It may, therefore, be reasonable to suppose that in A.D. 1734 Vrajanātha was at least a middle-aged person and that during Madhosing's reign his friendship must have been sought by his royal patron mainly on account of Vrajanātha's

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1 *Ibid.*—'दृजनाथ दीक्षित व त्यांचे तीर्थरूप प्रभाकर दीक्षित यानी स्वामीस पत्र लिहिलें आहे तें पत्र वाचून समाधानपूर्वक उभयतास पत्र लखावी'. It appears that Sevai Jaising sent his envoys to Gwalior for negotiating with Peshwa's officers. One of these envoys was a member of the Dīkṣita family. *Vide* P.D., Vol. XXX, Letter No. 132, dated '*about Sept.*, 1735'—'नरवरीकून राजश्री सवाइजी कडील दीक्षित व मुनसी ग्वालेरीस आले आहेत.'

2 *Vide* M. M. Patkar's article on this poem in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 34–37.

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personal cordial relations with his father Sevai Jaising who died in 1744 A.D.

Vrajanātha's father Prabhākara Dīkṣita was living in A.D. 1734 and must have been an elderly person claiming much respect from Sevai Jaising on account of his being the brother of his guru Ratnākarabhaṭṭa who composed his *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* in A.D. 1713 by the order of Sevai Jaising. It is difficult to say anything about the date of death of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa for want of evidence though a conjecture may be warranted that he may have been living in a very advanced state of old age leaving his work to his brother Prabhākara and nephew *Vrajanātha*, both competent to advise Sevai Jaising in religious and political matters as indicated by Babuji Joshi's letter of A.D. 1734.

I believe my present paper which links up Kṛṣṇakavi's testimony of A.D. 1744 with an earlier contemporary letter in the *Peshwa Daftar* of A.D. 1734 has to a certain extent revealed the personality of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa though nothing is as yet known to us about his literary achievements which characterize his son Vrajanātha and his brother Ratnākarabhaṭṭa.

List of Historical Persons mentioned in the Paper.

1. *Prabhākarabhaṭṭa*—the brother of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa resident of Mathura.
2. *Ratnākarabhaṭṭa*—the guru of Sevai Jaising of Amber (A.D. 1699–1744) and author of *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* (composed 1713 A.D.).
3. *Kṛṣṇakavi*—Author of the *Iśvaravilasakāvya* composed by order of Iśvar Singh, the son of Sevai Jaising about A.D. 1744.
4. *Vrajanātha*—Son of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa and nephew of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. He wrote many works under the patronage of Sevai Jaising and his son Madhosing.
5. *Devabhaṭṭa*—Father of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, resident of Benares. His gotra was *Śāṇḍilya*. '*Mahāśabda*' was his surname. His family deity was god Rāmacandra. He appears to have been a Deccani Brahmin of the Ṛgvedi Śākhā.
6. *Gokulanātha*—Son of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa.
7. *Gaṅgārāma*—Son of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa.
8. *Rameśvara*—Son of Gaṅgārāma and father of Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa Mahāśabda.
9. *Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa*—Great grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa.
10. *Babuji Joshi*—An agent of the Peshwa Bajirao I at Jaipur (August 1734).
11. *Dinānātha*—Representative of the Peshwa Bajirao I at Jaipur in the matter of a friendly alliance with Sevai Jaising.

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ON VAINYAGUPTA

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

A copper-plate inscription from Gunâighar [1] in the Tipperah district, East Bengal, has revealed several years ago the existence of a king called Vainyagupta, whose identity has been the subject of a lot of controversy since. The title or cognomen '*gupta*' and the age he belonged to (506-7 A.D.) are mainly responsible for that he is supposed to belong to the Imperial Gupta dynasty, but no absolute indication of this can be found either in the inscription or elsewhere. The editor of the inscription, which requires re-editing, followed a 'middle path' and remarked: 'As his appellative shows that he belongs to a distant scion of the Gupta family and he must have declared his independence during the troubled times of Huṇa supremacy. He was not probably directly connected with the Imperial Guptas, who were *Vaiṣṇavas* by religion, while Vainyagupta was professedly a *Śaiva*'. Such remarks are of no consequence in history, unless they are coupled with other instances of kings professing Śaivism and yet 'belonging to a distant scion of the Gupta family', and if on the other hand the question of religion alone preponderates in determining the family, it becomes absurd to believe that the *Parama-mâhêśvara* Harṣavardhana was the brother of the *Parama-saugata* Râjyavardhana or the son of the *Param=âditya-bhakta* Prabhâkaravardhana, that the *Parama-bhagavatî-bhakta* Bhôjadêva was the son of the *Param=âditya-bhakta* Râmabhadradêva or the great-grandson of the *Parama-mâhêśvara* Vatsarâja, that the *Parama-nârasiṁha* Lakṣaṇasêna was the son of the *Parama-mâhêśvara* Vallâlasêna and father of the *Parama-saura* Viśvarûpasêna and Kêśavasêna, and so on.

Things have nevertheless been rendered easier by the ascription, doubtless correctly, of the three coins in the British Museum to Vainyagupta.[2] The evidence of these coins, if the standard to the left on the obverse be really Garuḍa standard, shows that Vainyagupta was a worshipper of Viṣṇu as well, just as, for instance, Vaidyadêva of Kâmarûpa is represented in the Kamauli inscription as both *Parama-mâhêśvara* and *Parama-vaiṣṇava*.

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, 1930, p. 45 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 748 f.; also cf. Allan's *Cat. of Coins of Gupta Dynasties*, 1914, p. 144, Nos. 588, 589 and 590, and V. A. Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 82.

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Vainyagupta, therefore, might not improbably be connected with the Imperial (or later) Gupta dynasty of Magadha from the standpoint of religion. But the very fact that we have of him three coins of *suvarṇa* standard with average weight of 146 grains each, is no adequate ground for supposing, as has been done by Dr. D. C. Ganguly,[1] that he was a very powerful emperor of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. R. C. Majumdar had reason to contend that, 'The inscription of Vainyagupta, taken along with his coins, seems to show that he set up as an independent ruler in Samataṭa or some portion of it, and ruled as such till 507 A.D.' [2]

On the other hand, again, the title *Mahârâja* of Vainyagupta in the Gunâighar copper-plate grant is no conclusive proof that he was not an imperial ruler. How hazardous it is to rely upon such titles only is clearly borne out by the fact that *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Budhagupta, whose vast empire stretched from Bengal to Mâlava, was believed some time ago to have been merely a local ruler of Mâlava on the evidence of the Eran Stone Pillar inscription of his time dated 485 A.D. wherein he is described as simply a *bhûpati*. Bhudhagupta is styled also as a *Mahârâja* in an inscription from Sârnâth, dated 477 A.D. just as Kumâragupta I is called a *Mahârâja* in his Mankuwar Stone Image inscription, Chandragupta I is called a *Mahârâja* in the Poona plates of Prabhâvatîguptâ,[3] Chandragupta I and Samudragupta are described as *Mahârâjas* in the Ṛddhapur plates,[4] and so on. In case of Vainyagupta, however, the point was sufficiently clear, for in the Gunâighar inscription a *Mahârâja* is his vassal and another *Mahârâja* is the *dûtaka* of the grant. And the controversy must be brought to an end, as we have now definite proof that Vainyagupta was a *Mahârâjâdhirâja*. In some clay seals of Nâlandâ, Vainyagupta is styled as such.[5]

Since his coins are from the Kâlighâṭ hoard, the provenance cannot be regarded as a proof of the extent of his dominions. But coming as Vainyagupta did after Bhânugupta, the findspot of his seals, discovered along with those of other kings including Budhagupta, must be attached great importance to, in determining the extent of the empire of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Vainyagupta. He must have been a monarch holding sway over a region from East Bengal to Magadha (although it remains unknown if North Bengal was included within his dominions). And as such, the statement of the *Ârya-Mañjuśrî-mûla-kalpa* [6] that 'after the death of Budhagupta

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, 1933, p. 785.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 989.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41.
[4] *J.A.S.B.*, 1924, p. 58.
[5] *A.S.I., Ann. Rep.*, 1930–34, Part I, p. 230.
[6] Cf. *I.H.Q.*, 1933, p. 788 and *Modern Review*, 1933, Aug., p. 139.

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two kings in the Gupta line were crowned, one in Magadha and another in Bengal (Gauḍa) '—cannot at all be confided in. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, however, discredits the statement of this work on the assumption that, 'The Dâmodarpur copper-plates prove that Gauḍa was ruled by the viceroys (Uparika-mahârâjas) of the Imperial Guptas from the time of Kumâragupta I down to 433-434 A.D.' [1] (? 533-34 A.D.? 543-44 A.D.). Those who have studied the five Dâmôdarpur plates carefully must have observed that no member of the old viceregal Datta family of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* is entrusted with the administration of that *bhukti* in the last plate, but instead the *Râjaputra-dêva-bhaṭṭâraka*, or the son of the (Gupta) monarch, whose name could not be deciphered, is himself administering the *bhukti* as the viceroy of his father. This is certainly very significant, inasmuch as indicating something untoward that must have happened in respect of the Gupta supremacy over North Bengal, in more or less half a century that intervened between the dates of the fourth and fifth plates from Dâmôdarpur.

The recently discovered inscription of the *Mahâsâmanta* Vijayasêna from Mallasârul [2] (Burdwan) makes it wholly an erroneous conjecture that the administration of Samataṭa was conducted through the Uparika-mahârâja Vijayasêna under Vainyagupta of Magadha.[3] This inscription further proves that the Gupta suzerainty over East and West Bengal was done away with by Mahârâjâdhirâja Gôpacandra, provided we agree with the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar that he is posterior to Vainyagupta. What happened at that time in North Bengal, i.e. if North Bengal also passed to the mastery of Gôpacandra, we do not know, but it is a long time after that we find another Gupta king exercising sway over the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, and administering it with the help of his own son. The interruption of the Gupta rule in North Bengal was also caused by the *Janendra* Yasôdharman, *circa* 530 A.D. about which time Gôpacandra might have been succeeded by Samâcâradêva. And in any case, the theory that 'after the death of Budhagupta Bengal continued to be ruled by the viceroys of the Imperial Guptas of Magadha' [4] has safely to be discarded.

That Budhagupta, who came to the throne after the grandson of Puragupta had ceased to rule and then continued to reign for no less than two decades (476-77 to 496 A.D.), was a brother or half-brother of Puragupta himself is a suggestion for which is responsible

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, 1933, p. 788.
[2] *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1344 B.S., p. 17 f., and *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, Part V.
[3] *I.H.Q.*, 1933, pp. 786, 788.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 788.

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a statement of Hiuen Tsang that he was the son of Śakrâditya. Since Kumâragupta I had the *biruda* of Mahêndrâditya, and *Mahêndrâditya* is the same as *Śakrâditya* (Mahêndra=Śakra=Indra), Budhagupta figures as the son of Kumâragupta I in the theories of Prof. H. C. Raichaudhuri [1] and Rev. H. Heras.[2] What relation Budhagupta bore to Kumâragupta I or Puragupta we do not as yet know precisely. In a terracotta seal of Kumâragupta II discovered at Nâlandâ, Pandit Hirananda Śâstrî read the name of Puragupta's queen (not mother) as Vainyadêvî instead of as Vatsadêvî.[3] The peculiar name *Vainyadêvî* might suggest that this queen of Puragupta was the mother of Vainyagupta, for the naming of a son after the name of his mother is not an uncommon feature in ancient Indian history. Thus, in a Nâgârjuni-koṇḍa inscription (No. F), the son of Budhiṁnakâ is Budhiṁnaka, the husband of Bodhisiri [4]; in the Manhali copper-plate grant of Madanapâla, his mother is Madanadêvî [5]; in the Kârîtalâî plates of Mahârâja Jayanâtha, the son of Kumâradêvî is Kumâradêva and that of Jayasvâminî is Jayasvâmin [6]; etc. etc. But *Vainyadêvî* as the name of Puragupta's wife is, according to the reading of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, wrong and has been corrected as 'Śrî-candra-dêvî',[7] so that the name of Budhagupta's mother remains unknown.

According to the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, Budhagupta was succeeded by Tathâgatagupta, and after him Bâlâditya, represented as the subduer of Mihirakula, ascended the throne of Magadha. Rev. H. Heras [8] identifies these three kings, viz. Bud(d)hagupta-râja, Tathâgatagupta-râja and Bâlâditya-râja with Skandagupta, Puragupta and Narasiṁhagupta respectively, and Mr. H. D. Sankalia [9] follows suit !! The identification of Skandagupta with Budhagupta (Buddhagupta) is the outcome of a deplorable oversight of their respective dates and other historical data relating to them as are too commonly known, and any effort to distinguish Budhagupta of the inscriptions from Bud(d)hagupta-râja of Hiuen Tsang would be as profitless as anything. As to Narasiṁhagupta-Bâlâditya, his separate identity from the Bâlâditya of Hiuen Tsang has long been proposed by Prof. Raichaudhuri,[10] and this is indubiously the most entertaining theory

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[1] *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 501 f.
[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, 1928, pp. 3-4.
[3] *Ann. Rep. of the A.S.I.*, 1930–34, Part I, p. 230; *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 77.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22.
[5] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, pp. 68ff.
[6] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 118 f.
[7] *A.S.I., Ann. Rep.*, 1934-35, p. 63.
[8] *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, p. 2.
[9] *The University of Nâlandâ*, 1934, pp. 46–51.
[10] *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 497.

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we have on the question. In the face of these, Puragupta's identification with Tathâgatagupta-râja, a name unknown to sober history, is also absurd.

Prof. Raichaudhuri, however, is inclined to take *Bâlâditya* of Hiuen Tsang as a *biruda* of Bhânugupta,[1] so that the king between Bâlâditya and Bud(d)hagupta-râja, i.e. Tathâgatagupta, has necessarily to be identified with Vainyagupta (506-7 A.D.), whose date falls between those of Bhânugupta (510 A.D.) and Budhagupta (497 A.D.). But as Prof. Raichaudhuri himself admits, proof for this is lacking.[2]

Since the Dâmôdarpur copper-plate, No. 5, dated 543-44 A.D. is no more supposed to refer to Bhânugupta, he is thus known to us from only one inscription, viz. the Eran Posthumous Stone Pillar inscription of Gôparâja, dated 510 A.D. Although he is delineated as 'a mighty king equal to Pârtha' in this inscription, the title *Mahârâjâdhirâja* is conspicuous by its absence, while there is no evidence of that he ruled over Magadha. The battle of Eran, in which Gôparâja was killed, was fought by Bhânugupta manifestly with the Huṇas, and as was maintained by the late Prof. R. D. Banerji,[3] Bhânugupta was defeated in the battle, and Tôramâṇa was the Huṇa king who by defeating Bhânugupta conquered Mâlava. The conquest of Mâlava by Tôramâṇa might have, however, been effected much earlier than 510 A.D. for according to the Eran Posthumous Stone Pillar inscription, Gôparâja came here (at Eran) with Bhânugupta, fought a battle and died,—which conveys the sense that Bhânugupta came from another place (not necessarily Magadha) to Eran to fight with the Huṇas, who had been occupying it. The Eran Stone Boar inscription of Tôramâṇa of the year 1,[4] and the Gwalior Stone inscription of Mihirakula of the year 15 would show that the Huṇa occupation of Central India lasted up till at least the 15th regnal year of Mihirakula, and what civil existence had Bhânugupta at all after the battle of Eran, we have no knowledge

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 504.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 504, fn. 2.

3 *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 1933, p. 60.

4 Prof. K. B. Pathak calculates from Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical literatures, and particularly from the statements of Jinasêna, Guṇabhadra and Nêmicandra that in 500 A.D. fell the first year of Toramâṇa's reign and the 15th regnal year of Mihirakula corresponded to 517 A.D. but the authenticity of these data has much to be questioned (cf. Pathak's article in *Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.*, 1917, p. 217). According to Mr. M. Govind Pai, the first regnal year of Tôramâṇa would be *circa* 445 A.C.!! (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XI, 1932, pp. 183-84). There is a real sense in Pathak's statement that the figure 52 found on Tôramâṇa's silver coins refers to the date of the foundation of the Huṇa empire on the Oxus Basin (*op. cit.*). The final defeat of Mihirakula, it may be added here, was, according to Rev. H. Heras, inflicted not by Yaśôdharman but by Narasiṁhagupta-Bâlâditya (*I.H.Q.*, III, pp. 1–12), but this has been controverted by Prof. Raichaudhuri (*P.H.A.I.*, pp. 504-5, fn. 3).

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whatever thereof.[1] If, however, we do not agree that the Gwalior Stone inscription of Mihirakula indicates the extension of his rule in Eastern Mâlava, we are to suppose that Bhânugupta having reconquered this part of Mâlava ruled there, while Gwalior remained in the possession of Mihirakula, although it does not accord with that Mihirakula is called *pâtah pṛthivyâḥ* ('lord of the earth') in the inscription,—and subsequently Bhânugupta was dispossessed of Mâlava by Yaśôdharman. But even then Hiuen Tsang's account of Bâlâditya and Mihirakula is quite a different story, which renders the identification of Bhânugupta with the pilgrim's Bâlâditya out of question, and if Yaśôdharman be supposed to have ousted Bhânugupta from Mâlava, the popular theory that they joined hands in inflicting a crushing defeat on Mihirakula is also wholly wide of the mark.

But there is another side of the whole question. As there is no Gupta monarch of Magadha known to us as contemporary, in the true sense of the word, of Bhânugupta, there is no adequate reason why we should not reckon him as a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and as holding sway over both Mâlava and Magadha, just as Budhagupta did. He, from Magadha, went with Gôparâja, shortly before 510 A.D. to Mâlava to give battle to the Huṇas, who had conquered it some time after 484-85 A.D. the date of the Eran Stone Pillar inscription of the time of Budhagupta, and in the battle that took place, although Gôparâja lost his life, his overlord, Bhânugupta, we may suppose, eventually came out victorious. As Prof. Raichaudhuri puts it, 'The success of the Huns in Central India was however short-lived. In 510-11 we find a general named Gôparâja fighting by the side of a Gupta king at Eran and king Hastin of the neighbouring province of Ḍabhâlâ acknowledging the sovereignty of the Guptas. In 518 the suzerainty of the Guptas is acknowledged in the Tripuri vishaya. In the year 528-29 the Gupta sway was still acknowledged by the Parivrâjala Mahârâja of Ḍabhâlâ. . . . The Harsacharita of Bâṇa recognizes the possession of Mâlava by the Guptas as late as the time of Prabhâkaravardhana (A.D. 600). There can be no doubt that the expulsion of the Huns from Central India was final. The recovery of the Central Provinces was probably effected by Bâlâditya. . . . It is

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[1] Mr. M. Govind Pai has gone to the extent of saying that both Budhagupta and Bhânugupta were 'at most viceroys of the blood royal' and 'placed in charge of large provinces', and neither of them was a *Mahârâjâdhirâja* (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XI, 1932, p. 181). It is thus not known to him that Budhagupta is styled *Mahârâjâdhirâja* in at least two copper-plate grants, and that of him we have also some gold coins.

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not improbable that Bâlâditya was a *biruda* of the "glorious Bhânugupta". . . . .'[1]

It follows from this extract that Bhânugupta of Magadha brought, in or about 510-11 A.D. under his subjugation not only Central India but the neighbouring provinces as well. But an emperor of this vast region could not possibly be, we must agree, the Bâlâditya of Hiuen Tsang. For as we cannot place the 15th regnal year of 'the lord of the earth', Mihirakula, before 510 A.D. the so-called 'battle of Eran' must have been fought by Bhânugupta with Tôramâṇa about 510 A.D. while according to Hiuen Tsang, 'at the time of the war with Bâlâditya Mihirkula was a paramount sovereign to whom the king of Magadha had been tributary'.[2] The identification of Bhânugupta, the emperor, with Hiuen Tsang's Bâlâditya, represented as a subordinate king of Magadha, appears, therefore, untenable from this side of the question, too.

The very existence of a king of Magadha with the personal name or *biruda* of Bâlâditya at the time of Mihirakula is not, however, to be doubted, although there seems to have been a great deal of embellishment in the details of Hiuen Tsang's story as to how Mihirakula was captured by Bâlâditya and then set free through the intervention of his mother. It is but relevant to add here that in Eastern India there was a king in the sixth century whose personal name rather than a *biruda* was Dharmâditya.

Supposing that Bhânugupta had really been the lord of Magadha, he would appear to have been the immediate successor of Vainyagupta, they being either father and son or brothers.

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[1] *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 503-4.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 504, fn. 3.

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BUDDHA NIRVĀNA AND SOME OTHER DATES IN ANCIENT INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By H. C. SETH

Elsewhere we have shown that Candragupta Maurya originally belonged to Gandhara and was identical with Śaśigupta.[1] The starting point of the big empire which he created with the help of Cāṇakya, who also, as we learn from the Buddhist traditions, belonged to Takṣaśilā, was north-western India. There is at least no doubt that Candragupta was some where in that region at the time of Alexander's invasion of India. Plutarch and Justin mention his having met Alexander. The drama Mudrārākṣasa also beyond doubt suggests that the forces with the help of which Candragupta conquered Magadha were all drawn from the north-west of India and beyond.[2] If our view that Candragupta is identical with Śaśigupta is correct, we find that he even played an important part, west of the Indus, during Alexander's campaign. Our surmise is that he headed the Aśvakas, west of the Indus, who rose against Alexander and killed his satrap Nicator.

There are very strong reasons to think that this revolt was never successfully suppressed, and that it was the real cause of Alexander's sudden retirement from the bank of the Beas, and his flight through Sindh and the Makran desert, where most of his army was destroyed.[3] If our identification of Candragupta and Śaśiguptā is correct then we find that even before Alexander left India Candragupta had emerged as a great figure west of the Indus. This reconstruction of events of the period gives us about 325 B.C. as the date of the rise of Candragupta in his ancestral domains in

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1 Refer to my paper, 'Did Candragupta Maurya belong to North-Western India?' Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vol. XVIII, Part II; and also 'Candragupta and Sasigupta'. Indian Historical Quarterly, XIII, No. 2. I have discussed the same questions in greater detail in a paper 'Gandhara Origin of the Maurya Dynasty and the Identification of Candragupta and Sasigupta', which I have submitted to the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference.

2 अस्ति तावत् शक-यवन-किरात-काम्बोज-पारसिक-वाह्लीक-प्रभृतिभिः चाणक्यमतिपरिगृहीतैः उदधिभिरिव प्रलयोच्छलितसलिलैः समन्तात् उपरुद्धं कुसुमपुरम्। Act. II.

I have discussed afresh the identification of all these people in my paper 'Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire'. I.H.Q. Vol. XII. No 3.

3 Refer to my article. 'Was Alexander routed in India?'. Indian Review June 1937.

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the north-west. Later on he conquered Magadha with the co-operation of Parvataka, who, as we have elsewhere shown, was none else than the great Porus of the Greek historians.[1]

Now according to the generally accepted Ceylonese Buddhist traditions Candragupta reigned for twenty-four years [2], Bindusara for twenty-eight,[3] and Aśoka was coronated four years after he succeeded his father Bindusara [4]. These traditions give us 269 B.C. (325-24-28-4) as the date of Aśoka's coronation, on the assumption that the beginning of Candragupta's reign is reckoned from the time of his emergence to power in the north-west.

Ceylonese Buddhist traditions also inform us that Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusara 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāna and that his coronation took place four years afterwards, or 218 years after the Nirvāna.[5] The Ceylonese tradition of Aśoka's coronation taking place 218 years after the Nirvāna of Buddha gets an indirect support from Tibetan traditions, which can safely be regarded as independent of the former. The Tibetan records, inform us that 'counting exactly from the Nirvāna of Buddha 234 years had elapsed when Liyūl (Khotan) was founded by Kustana, son of Aśoka'[6]. At another place it is also said that 'Two hundred and thirty-four years after the death of the Buddha there was a king of India called Dharmasoka'.[7] Stein correctly observes that this passage 'does not specify whether this date refers to the commencement or any other period of Asoka's reign'.[8] But the first passage clearly shows that the event commemorated is not the accession of Aśoka, but the founding of the kingdom of Khotan by his son Kustana. This will then presuppose that Aśoka ascended the throne earlier than 234 after Buddha Nirvana in which case Ceylonese date of 218 will appear probable. Another Tibetan tradition says that Aśoka, the King of Āryāvarta, visited Khotan in the year 250 after the death of Buddha'.[9] This tradition of Aśoka's visit to Khotan

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[1] In a paper, 'Identification of Porus and Parvataka', submitted to the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference.

[2] Mahāvaṁsa V. 18, Dīpavaṁsa V. 73,100, Buddhghosha's Samantapāsādikā. Vāyū Purāṇa also allots twenty-four years to Candragupta's reign. Ch. 99, V. 332.

[3] Mahāvaṁsa V. 18; Dīpvaṁsa does not give the period of Bindusara's reign, but as Fleet observes 'still the same duration (28 years) for a reign between the reigns of Candragupta and Aśoka is deducible from the statements (XI, 5, 12, 13) by which it fixes the years of the anointment and death of King Mutasiva of Ceylon'. J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 25, Vāyū Purāṇa gives 25 years as the period of Bindusara's reign.

[4] Mahāvaṁsa, V. 216; Dīpavaṁsa, VI, 216; Samantāpāsādkā, p. 299.

[5] See references given in the above note.

[6] Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 237.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[8] Ancient Khotan, p. 161. Footnote 16.

[9] Asoka. Vincent Smith, p. 81.

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fits in the chronology of the events of his life as we know from his inscriptions. From the Rummindei and the Nigali-Sagar pillar inscriptions we know that in the 20th year of his reign Aśoka visited different parts of his realm. A visit to an outlying province of his Empire like Khotan can safely be put a few years later, which, dating his events from the year 218 after the death of Buddha, will come very near to 250 years after Buddha Nirvāna.

In a paper 'Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire',[1] we have shown that there are very strong reasons to believe that a large part of Central Asia, including Khotan, formed part of the Mauryan Empire, and the traditions both of Aśoka's visit to Khotan and of his son being the founder of the early dynasty of Khotan kings are historically correct.[2] Even independent Chinese tradition corroborates the last fact. Hiuen Tsang in the accounts of his travel said that the kingdom of Khotan was jointly founded by Chinese and some Indians, who were banished by Aśoka from Takṣaśilā, and that a son of the king of China was the first king of Khotan. But his biographer Hui-li, or may be the editor of his biography, Yen-ts'ung, both of whom were 'Contemporaries and pupils of Hiuen Tsang',[3] disagree with him, and inform us that 'the first ancestor of the king (of Khotan) was the eldest son of king Aśoka and resided in the kingdom of Takṣaśilā'.[4] It will be out of place to pursue in detail here this question of the extension of the Mauryan Empire to Khotan. It has already been dealt with in our paper 'Central Asiatic Provinces of the Mauryan Empire'. Suffice it to say here that the Tibetan traditions seem to have preserved correct tradition regarding the period intervening between the death of Buddha and certain events connected with the reign of Aśoka, and they are in accord with the Ceylonese traditions, which put the coronation of Aśoka 218 years after Buddha's death.

The above Ceylonese tradition of Aśoka's coronation taking place 218 years after Buddha's death is corroborated by Minor Rock

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1 I.H.Q. Vol. XIII. Part. 3.

2 Compare the following remark of Sten Konow: 'At the head of the Khotan dynasty the Tibetan text place Kustana or Salana, who is said to have been born to the queen of emperor Asoka' (Khotan Studies. D.R.A.S. 1914, p. 244.

As hinted in the Cambridge History of India Kustana (or Salana) may be identical with Aśoka's son Kuṇāla, who at one time was the Viceroy at Taxila (Vol. I, p. 500). The existence also of the Arhat Yaśas, the minister associated with Kustana, in the Tibetan texts about Khotan 'seems deserving of credence as he is mentioned in the Sūtrālaṁkāra of Aśvaghosha' (Cam. History of India Vol. I, p. 507).

3 Ancient Khotan, p. 159. A. Stein. See also Julien's Vie de Hiouen-Thsang, pp. IXXVII.

4 Ancient Khotan, p. 159. See also Vie de Hiouen Thsang, p. 279, and Beal's 'Life', p. 205.

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Edicts of Aśoka. We are of the opinion that these Edicts are the last ones issued by Aśoka towards the end of his reign, which, according to the Ceylonese tradition, lasted for 37 years (Dip. 5. 101). Starting from the 219th year after Buddha's death the reign of Aśoka extended to about the 256th (219+37) year after Buddha's death, which figure is also given in some of the Minor Rock Edicts and which, as we shall discuss below, indicates the year, reckoned from Buddha Nirvāna, in which they were issued by Aśoka.

The Minor Rock Edicts (i.e. Rupnath, Sahasram, Bairat, Maski, Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga-Rameshwar) are regarded by Hultzsch, Senart, Vincent Smith, and Dr. F. W. Thomas as the earliest of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is difficult to go into the details of the long drawn out controversy, which has not yet ended, regarding the chronological position of the Minor Rock Edicts and the significance of the figure 256 mentioned in some of them. But we shall take up the main points involved.

Hultzsch gives two main reasons for the view that the Minor Rock Edicts were the earliest of Aśokan inscriptions. (*a*) The Rupnath and Sahasram edicts 'speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*. (*b*) They and the three Mysore records contain the first elements of Aśoka's Dharma, which we find more fully developed in his rock and pillar edicts.'[1]

As regards the first point it is a mistake to think that the order of Aśoka in Rupnath and Sahasram [2] for the engraving to be caused on rocks and stone pillars in any way refers to other inscriptions. It was the subject matter of this particular edict which was to be engraved on rocks and on stone pillars. A careful reading of the passages from the Rupnath and Sahasram edicts clearly indicates that the stone pillars were already existing. This suggests that at least the pillar Inscriptions were earlier than the Minor Rock Inscriptions. The Pillar Edicts are dated 26th and 27th years of Aśoka's coronation.

Hultzsch way of reasoning will suggest that even the Seventh Pillar Edict (Delhi-Topra) was also one of the earliest of Aśoka's inscriptions because there too Aśoka orders that 'This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are'.[2] This also indicates that like the Sahasram and Rupnath edicts the task of engraving on rocks and pillars was intended to be carried out, it was not yet a *fait accompli*. As a matter of fact Dr. Bhandarkar putting almost a similar construction on the above passage from the Pillar Edict VII, as Hultzsch does on Rupnath and

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[1] C.I.I. Vol. I, p. xiv.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 137.

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Sahasram Edicts, suggest that the Pillar Edicts were earlier even than the Major Rock Edicts. He ingeniously suggests that though the Major Rock Edicts were actually written and issued in the earlier part of Aśoka's reign yet they were incised on rocks later on, after the Pillar Edicts. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that the idea of incising on rock 'does not seem to have occurred to him till after the twenty-seventh year of his reign, the date of Pillar Edict VII'.[1] The idea of inscribing on rocks must have been earlier than that of inscribing on pillars. We have the inscriptions of Darius at Behistun and Nakshi-Rustam. The influence of Persian customs and tradition on Mauryan court warrants us to conclude that the idea of incising proclamations on the rocks may have been taken by Aśoka from the Persian example. A critical study of the various inscriptions of Aśoka clearly indicates that the Major Rock Edicts were much earlier than the Pillar Edicts, which were engraved at the earliest in the 26th and 27th years of his reign.

In our opinion the suggestion that the Pillar Edicts, and the Rupnath and Sahasram Edicts are the earliest, because Aśoka orders the incision of edicts on rocks and pillars, is far fetched. As suggested above in each case the order for inscription is for the particular edict where it occurs. Dr. Barua rightly emphasizes, that the order of Aśoka for the causing of the inscribing on rocks and pillars in the Sahasram and Rupnath as well as Pillar Edict VII, was more an instruction to the agents who were to carry out his orders.[2] It is not unlikely that similar orders were issued by Aśoka regarding the inscribing of the Major Rock and other Edicts, but were dropped because of discrimination exercised by officer supervising the task of inscribing, or the orders for inscribing were issued separately. At some places too, in other inscriptions of Aśoka, one feels that what were, perhaps, only executive orders of Aśoka had crept in the Edicts themselves. Brahmagiri and Siddhapura version of the Minor Rock Edict preserves perhaps the whole of the order, including even the customary greetings in official correspondence received from the Viceregal head-quarters at Suvarnagiri. We may also refer to the Sarnath Edict, where in the end Aśoka's executive orders, which apparently do not form an integral part of the Edict, and which are not found in the cognate Edict in the Kauśāmbi, Sānchī and Allahabad Pillars, were inscribed.

As regards the second reason of Hultzsch that the Minor Rock Edicts were the earliest because 'they contain the first element of Aśoka's Dharma, which we find more fully developed in rock and pillar edicts', this we think depends on a complete misunderstanding

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[1] Asoka, p. 288, 2nd ed.

[2] I.H.Q. Vol. II, p. 100 ff.

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of the development of Aśoka's personality, as we see it through his own inscriptions. The Major Rock Edicts reveal him as a monarch full of the greatest zeal for promoting a lasting happiness of his people through various administrative measures. He is constructing roads and wells, planting trees, opening hospitals, helping aged and the infirm. He appoints special officers to promote morality amongst his subjects. He exerts himself to the utmost, and expects his ministers and officers to do the same, in order to avoid injustice to any one. At all times of the day and night he is open to listen to any complaint lodged by any of his subjects.

The trait of character that stands out uppermost in Aśoka, as we see him in the Major Rock Edicts, is a continuous flow of kindness from his magnanimous heart towards all men and even towards animals. He has not learned it from any particular sect, it has been the reaction of the massacres and horrors of the Kalinga war, which completely destroyed all his enthusiasm for more political conquests, and sublimated his youthful and ambitious heart to promote love and goodwill amongst his own subjects, and even between country and country. The horrors of the Kalinga war, perhaps made him question the code of political morality, which he inherited from his grandfather, the mighty conqueror Candragupta, and his great Chancellor, Cāṇakya, in which political expansion and consolidation were the uppermost objectives.

It was this mood of mind after the Kalinga war that made Aśoka incline towards Buddhism and may be even Jainism.[1] But there is nothing in the Major Rock Edicts to show that, at the time they were issued, Aśoka had joined Buddhism, on the other hand, as they reveal him to us, we find that he wisely patronizes all sects. He sees the good in all of them and 'desires all sects to reside every where, for all these desire both self-control and purity of mind' (Rock Edict VII Gi). In his religious tours he visits Brāhmaṇas and Sramaṇas alike (Edict VIII Gi). He appoints Dharma Mahāmātras for the supervision of one sect as of another. Donatory inscriptions of Aśoka, put almost at the same time as the Major Rock Edicts, reveal the same concern for all sects. If he enlarges the Stūpa of Buddha Konakamana (Nigali-Sagar, Pillar inscription) he is giving caves to Ājivikas (Barabar Hill Cave inscriptions). Thus in all the inscriptions dated before the 14th year of his reign there is nothing to suggest that he is favouring Buddhism over other religious sects, or even that he has adopted Buddhism as his personal religion. This policy of religious toleration was, perhaps, as

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1 The influence of Jainism on Aśoka in the early part of his reign is indicated by his great insistence on non-killing and non-injury to animals.

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much a political dictum handed down from the time of Candragupta and Cāṇakya, as it was the attitude of a virile mind enquiring after what was really true in the various religious sects, the same sort of urge which several centuries later we find in case of Akbar.

In the inscriptions which fall towards the 20th year of his reign —these are only donatory—we find him more inclined towards Buddhism. In the 20th year of his reign he visits the birth place of Buddha and offers worship there. (Rumindei Pillar Inscription.) In the same year he visits the Stupa of the Buddha Konakamana and offers worship (Nigali-Sagar Pillar Inscription). But in spite of this Aśoka continued his policy of patronizing and of taking interest in all the sects. This is evident from the Pillar Edicts, which fall towards the 26th and 27th years of his reign. In the sixth Edict he mentions his honouring all the sects with various kinds of honours (सव पासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया). But the way in which, in the seventh Pillar Edict, Aśoka mentions Saṁgha (which meant Buddhist Saṁgha) first along with other religious sects one feels that the Saṁgha was uppermost in his mind.—

धंम महामाता पि मे ते बञ्ञबिधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सव...डेसु पि च वियापटासे, संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नाना पासंडेसु पि मे कटे।

'My Mahāmātras of morality too are occupied with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects. Some were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvkas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nigranthas; others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various other sects.' (Hultzsch Tran.)

Now among the inscriptions, in which no regnal date is given we can put with a great degree of certainty the Schism Edict (Kauśāmbi, Sāṁchī, and Sarnath) as having been issued after the 26th year of Aśoka's reign. This is evident from the fact that 'the Kauśāmbi, Sāṁchī, and Sarnath Edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kosam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition'.[1] And as these Pillar Edicts were issued in the 26th year of Aśoka's reign we can safely say that the Schism Edict was issued during the last ten years of Aśoka's reign. In this Edict

[1] Hultzsch, C.I.I. Vol. I, p. XVII.

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we find Aśoka for the first time in very close relation with the Buddhist Saṁgha. He is striving hard to preserve the unity of the Saṁgha, and prescribing punishment for the Bhikshus and Bhikshunis, who attempted to break the Saṁgha.

The above chronological arrangement of those of the inscriptions of Aśoka, which can be definitely allotted to different periods of his reign, gives us an insight into the development of his mind. Buddhism was not the ancestral or early faith of Aśoka. His own ideology, the result of the reaction on his mind of the massacre and horror of the Kalinga war, was strikingly similar to the teaching of Buddha, with its emphasis on love, kindness and service of humanity. With advancing years his devotion to Buddha and his teachings grew deeper and deeper. But in spite of this, it appears that even up to the 26th year of his reign he continued his wise policy of patronizing and taking interest in the affairs of all the sects. It is only subsequently in the Schism Edict, which belong to the last ten years of his reign, that we find Aśoka in very close and intimate touch with the Buddhist religious order. In this Edict he almost appears as the head of the Saṁgha. This indicates that it was sometimes during the last ten years of his reign that Aśoka developed into an ardent Buddhist.

Now coming to the Minor Rock Edicts (i.e. Rupnath, Sahasram, Bairat, Maski, Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga-Ramesvara), which do not bear any regnal date, these also reveal Aśoka as closely preoccupied with the Buddhist Saṁgha. Like the Major Rock and Pillar Edicts, Minor Rock Edicts also are addressed to the general public, but one fails to find in the latter any trace of the catholic interest in all sects, which characterizes the earlier proclamations of Aśoka. On the other hand Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga-Ramesvara versions of the Minor Rock Edict refer to the general principles of good moral life, which are also enunciated in the Major Rock as well as are referred to in the Pillar Edicts. It is significant to note in the Minor Rock Edict no mention is made of Brāhmaṇas as the object of worshipful devotion, as is found in the Major Rock and the Pillar Edicts.[1] It is symptomatic of Aśoka's changed outlook.

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[1] For easy comparison on this point we give below the different versions of Aśoka's general principles of Morality. C.I.I. Vol. I.

साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूषा मितसंस्तुतञातीनं बाम्हण-समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु। (III. Major Rock Edict Gir.)

वडिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमझालकानं अनुपवं पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलाकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया! (VII. E. Delhi Topra Pillar.)

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It, thus, appears that the Minor Rock Edicts were issued after the Pillar Edicts sometime during the last ten years of Aśoka's reign, and in all probability they were issued in the last year of his reign. The Minor Rock Edict has a very significant statement. In this Edict Aśoka declares for the first and the only time in his inscriptions that he is a Śākya,[1] and in the Rupnath Edict he says that it has been over two and a half years that he is openly a Śākya.

सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुभि प्रकास सके.

The expression प्रकास सके (openly a Śākya) indicates that Aśoka in his heart of hearts did admire Buddha and his teaching but it was only about 2½ years before the issue of this Edict that he openly embraced Buddhism. And about a year before the issue of the Edict he had joined the Saṁgha.

सातिलेके चु छबछरे य सुभि हकं सघ उपेते.

From the various versions of the Minor Rock Edict it is obvious that Aśoka first joined the Saṁgha as lay worshipper (upāsaka), and about a year afterwards he actually entered the Saṁgha in the sense of joined the monkish order.[2] The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk.[3] It does not necessarily mean that he relinquished the throne. We can cite other cases where Buddhist monarchs had put on the monkish garb even when seated on the throne. Dr. B. C. Law draws attention to king Milinda's similar action. He 'put on yellow robes and had his head clean shaven and fulfilled the eight moral conditions, having assumed the state of a muni (muni bhāvaṁ upagantva) for a week'.[4] One wonders if Milinda was just acting in a manner, in which a couple of centuries before Aśoka had done.

Seated as Aśoka was on a throne founded, and also perhaps supported by Brahmanic influence, this official and public announce-

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मातापितिसु सुसूसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेसु द्रह्मितव्यं सचं वतवियं से इमे धंमगुणा पवतितविया हेमेव अंतेवासिना आचरिये अपचायितविधे ञातिकेसु च कं य....रहं पवतितविये. (Minor Rock Edict, Brahmagiri.)

[1] C.I.I. Vol. I. 'Maski version reads Bu(dha)-Sake. The Sahasram, Bairat and Siddpura versions read 'Upāsake'. C.I.I. Vol. I, p. 167. Note 18.

[2] Senart and Hultzsch take the word 'upēta' to mean 'visited' and conclude that the Minor Rock Edict refers to a state visit paid by the king to the Saṁgha (C.I.I. Vol. I, p. XIV). It does not appear convincing that Aśoka had never visited the Saṁgha before his becoming an upāsaka, which took place more than a year before the suggested visit.

[3] Fleet, J.R.A.S. 1908, p. 496; and also J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 657.

[4] Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 123.

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ment of the change of faith, this putting on of the monkish garb, and also perhaps the lavish gifts from the treasury to Buddhist Saṁgha [1] brought about a political revolution in which Aśoka was deprived of his powers and the ministers put his son or one of his grandsons on the throne. There may be truth in the tradition preserved in Aśokāvadana that Aśoka died destitute of power. Hiuen Tsang also refers to a story similar to one found in Aśokāvadana of Asoka's extravagance and of his being deprived of royal power by his minister towards the close of his life.[2]

We, then, conclude that the events referred to in the Minor Rock Edict belong to the last three years of Aśoka's reign [3] and that

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1 Hiuen Tsang mentions the existence of a pillar in Pataliputra in his time which recorded the gift of Aśoka to Buddhist of the whole empire thrice and its redemption in return for jewels and treasure. Part of the inscription was reported by the pilgrim as follows: 'Aśoka-rāja with a firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudvipa as a religions offering on Buddha, the Dharma, and the assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof. Such is the purport of the record. Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World', p. 91, Vol. II. Earlier than Hiuen Tsang, Fahian had also reported similarly about the above pillar and inscription. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. lvii.

2 King Aśoka having fallen sick and lingering for a long time, felt that he would not recover, and so desired to offer all his possessions (gems and valuables) so as to crown his religious merit (to plant high the field of merit). The minister who was carrying on the government was unwilling to comply with his wish. Some time after this, as he was eating part of an Āmlaka fruit, he playfully put the half of it (in the hand of the king) for an offering. Holding the fruit in his hand he said with a sigh to his minister, 'Who now is lord of Jambudvipa'?

The minister replied, 'Only your majesty'.

The king answered, 'Not so! I am no longer lord; for I have only this half fruit to call my own! Alas! the wealth and honour of the world are as difficult to keep as it is to preserve the light of a lamp in the wind! My wide-spread possessions, my name and high renown, at close of life are snatched from me, and I am in the hands of a minister violent and powerful. The empire is no longer mine; this half fruit alone is left'!

Then he commanded an attendant officer to come, and he addressed him thus: 'Take this half fruit and offer it in the garden (arama) of the cock (monastery) to the priests, and speak thus to the venerable ones, "He who was formerly lord of Jambudvipa, but now is master of only this half Āmala fruit, bows down before the priests (chief priest). I pray you (on behalf of the king) receive this very last offering. All that I have is gone and lost, only this half fruit remains as my little possession. Pity the poverty of the offering, and grant that it may increase the seeds of his religious merit".' Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World,' Vol. II, p. 95-96.

3 Vincent Smith was, perhaps, right in detecting in the Schism as well as in the Minor Rock Edict reference to the Third Council held at Pataliputra. He acutely remarks that the Council 'is not mentioned in the review of pious acts recorded in Pillar Edict VII. I assume, therefore, that the Council, which was assembled to correct the evils caused by schism, took place at some time in the last nine or ten years of Aśoka's life'. (Asoka, p. 217.) It seems likely that the Schism Edict was issued about a year before the Minor Rock Edict, during the period of his zealous

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the Edict itself was issued in the closing year of his reign, when he was deprived of his royal powers and, perhaps, soon after this he died. This gives us (219+37) 256 as the date of the Minor Rock Edict after Buddha Nirvāna.

In the light of the above conclusion we think that the figure 256 given in the Minor Rock Edict represents the reckoning in years after the Buddha Nirvāna.[1] This indicates that the expression वुठेन (Rupnath) विवुधेन and विवुधा (Sahasram) वूधेन (Brahmagiri) is derived from the Sanskrit word व्युष्टः which according to Kauṭalya, as suggested by M. Gaṇapat Śāstri, means regnal dating.[2] My learned friend Prof. Hira Lal Jain has drawn my attention to the following use of the expression व्युष्टिः in old Jain scripture

ततोस्य ह्यायने पूर्णे व्युष्टिर्नाम क्रिया मता।
वर्षवर्द्धन-पर्याय शब्द-वाच्या यथाश्रुतम्॥

(आदिपुराण. पर्व. ३८ श्लोक. ९६)

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efforts referred to in the Minor Rock Edict. This line of thought suggests that the expression 'या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा डसु ते दानि मिसा कटा' may refer to the unity he brought about in the Saṁgha. The expression may then be translated as follows: 'During this period the religious teachers (देव) in India who were disunited (अमिसा) were united by me.' Rhys-Davids shows that the word 'Deva' in Pali literature is used also for Samanas and Brahmanas (Visuddhi-deva, i.e. being divine by purity, of great religious merit or attainment). Pali-English Dictionary, p. 164-165, Pt. I. Aśoka could take a legitimate pride in his great achievement in uniting the Saṁgha, and saving it from disruption.

It may, however, be noted that the above translation will not easily fit in the Brahmagiri, Siddpura and some other versions of the Minor Rock Edict.

[1] Dr. Thomas' suggestion that 'lāti' in the following expression in Sahasram Edict 'दुवे संपना लाति सता' means 'rātri' (night) has given a very wrong turn to the interpretation of figure 256. Of the various interpretations of the above expression the most convincing appears to be Dr. Mukerjee's suggestion 'the best interpretation of "sa-paṁnā-lāti" is suggested by the Pali grammatical rule "Yavamadanatarala chāgamā", "the consonants, ya, va, ma, da, na, ta, ra, and la should be placed between the final vowel of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the succeeding word, if a sandhi between those two vowels takes place". The examples cited for this rule include chha+asīti=chhalāsīti, whence we may also derive chhapaṁnālāti by sandhi from chhapaṁnā+ati=chhapaṁnālāti'. P. 115. Asoka.

[2] राजवर्षे मासः पक्षो दिवसश्च व्युष्टम् Arthshastra, Bk. 2, Ch. 6. Compare the following commentary of M. Gaṇpat Śāstri on the above:

राजेत्यादि राजवर्षम् वा राज्ञ राज्याभिषेकादारब्धः संवत्सरः, मासः पक्षः, दिवसश्च, व्युष्टं राजवर्षादि-चतुष्टयं व्युष्टसंज्ञमित्यर्थः। P. 138. Arthshastra.

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This suggests a possible use of the expression वुट्ठिः and hence also of its Prākrit form वुठेन etc. in the general sense of annual counting.[1] It thus appears very probable that after his joining the Saṁgha Aśoka adopted Buddha Nirvāna Era, instead of his own regnal dating which we find in most of his other inscriptions. The way in which Buddha Nirvāna Era is used for dating in the Ceylonese Buddhist works like Mahāvaṁsa and Dīpavaṁsa,[2] as well as its use in old Tibetan traditions, appears that at the time of Aśoka it was in use in the esoteric Buddhist circles.

Our conclusions that the Minor Rock Edict was issued in the closing year of Aśoka's reign and that the figure 256 in the Minor Rock Edicts represents the years after Buddha's death, fully corroborates the Ceylonese Buddhist tradition that Aśoka was coronated 218 years after Buddha Nirvāna, and that he reigned for 37 years.

Now in view of our conclusion set forth in the beginning of this paper that Aśoka was coronated in 269 B.C. we arrive at (269+218) 487 B.C. as the date of Buddha Nirvāna. This is also the date of Buddha Nirvāna given by the well-known 'dotted record' of Canton. About 664 A.D. Tao-Suen a Chinese priest recorded that there was in existence a manuscript of the Vinaya-pitaka which in 489 A.D. contained 975 dots. At the end of each year marking the Buddha Nirvāna a dot was put by the presiding priest. This practice is reported to have commenced right from the very year after Buddha's death. The MS. bearing such dot was carried to China by Saṁghabhadra when he put the last dot in 489 A.D.[3] Thus, the 'dotted record' gives us (975—489) 486 as the first year after Buddha's death, and consequently 487 B.C. as Buddha Nirvāna date. Scholars have not doubted the general truth of the story of the dotted record. As Max Muller pointed out, there was nothing to induce a

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[1] A similar view is held by Dr. Barua. See his article 'Inscriptional Excursion in respect of Asoka Edicts'. I. H.Q. Vol. 2, p. 122 ff.

[2] Compare the following remark of Fleet. In the Dipavaṁsa the original reckoning from Buddha Nirvāna, 'is first presented in connection with the ordination of Dāsaka, at 16 years after the death (4; 27, 28. 5. 76, 77). The only conspicious use of it in that work, however, is in the record of the Vaiśālī schism at 100 years (4. 47, 48; 5. 16), which led to the Second Council; of the birth of Mahēndra, at 204 years (6. 20); of the anointment of Aśoka, at 218 years (6. 1); and, at 236 years, of the interruption of the Buddhist observances which led to the Third Council (7. 37, 44); of the anointment of Dēvānāṁpiya-Tissa (17. 78);—and of the arrival of Mahēndra (15. 71). The reckoning does not figure in the Dīpavaṁsa after the last-mentioned year. In the Mahāvaṁsa, it appears only in connection with the Vaiśālī schism, at 10 years of the reign of Kālāśoka and at 100 years after the death (ed. Turnour, p. 15), and with the anointment of Aśoka, at 218 years'. The origin of the Buddha-varsha, J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 324.

[3] C. 6. Max Muller's 'True date of Buddha's Death,' I.A., May 1884. 194-150.

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Chinese Buddhist to invent so modern a date for Buddha's death. 'It runs counter to all their own chronological theories, and even the writer himself seems to express surprise that he should himself be so much nearer to the age of Buddha than he imagined.'[1] But it has been suggested that the process of adding one dot at the end of every year during 975 years was extremely precarious. But mistake in this connection was not likely because putting a dot, according to the above story, became a part of the ceremonial in connection with the celebration of the Buddha's death. The dot was put by the presiding priest. The dotted record seemed to have preserved not only the correct number of years but, as Fleet tried to show, even the correct day of Buddha's death.[2]

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[1] 'True date of Buddha's death.' I.A., May 1884, p. 150.
[2] 'The Day on which Buddha Died.' J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 9 ff.

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MISCELLANEA

THE JAINA THEORY OF EXISTENCE AND REALITY

In the history of Indian thought the Jaina system has occupied a very peculiar position. Not very long ago it was customary with the dilettantish non-Jaina critics of Jaina thought to brand it as a disjointed piece of eclecticism, a hopeless medley of the Buddhist doctrine of change and diversity, and the vedantist conception of permanence and unity, without any definite and defendable metaphysic and theory of knowledge of its own, and credit it, at its best, with contradictions with which it seemed to them to have been riddled. This defeatist position and the neglect that have been systematically meted out to it may be argued as due to two circumstances, one is its want of missionary spirit and the other is the fact that the critics of Jaina thought have drawn mainly upon the scattered quotations from Jaina literature in orthodox schools of thought suitable for victimizing it. One illustration in point amongst many is the remark made by one of our contemporary writers on Indian Philosophy[1]; it runs thus: 'The truth is that the primary aim of Jainism is the perfection of the Soul, rather than the interpretation of the Universe.—A fact which may be supported by the old statement that *āsrava* and *saṁvara* constitute the whole of Jaina teaching, the rest being only an amplification of them.' This is not peculiarly unusual and surprising. A student of European Philosophy is well aware how Hegel and his followers have subjected earlier systems, especially that of Spinoza to unmerited criticisms and text-torturing for the purposes of speculative exploitation. And he is also aware how systematic attempts are being made in the present generation of philosophers to re-interpret the philosophy of this neglected Jew.

Any way it is admitted that the Jaina and Buddhist systems of thought are reactionaries against the traditional grooves of orthodox thinking in India. But one must not lose sight of the idea that a reaction is a fact as inevitable in the realms of physics as in that of metaphysics and has its part to play in the total appraisal of values. Any curious student of Jaina philosophy who may

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[1] Prof. Hiriyanna: Outlines of Indian Philosophy. p. 173, 'Asravo bhava hetuh syāt saṁvaro mokṣa karanam Itiyam ārhati dṛsti rauyadasyāh prapancanam.

(S. D. S.)

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have the patience and catholicity of mind to go into the recent researches of some of the western and eastern scholars and into some recently published treasures of Jaina literature will have to be convinced that Jainism amidst its dogmatics—are all systems free from dogmas?—amidst much of its dross and dust, contains pure gold. He will find in it sturdy reliance on common sense and perception, evolutionary conception of Reality and Existence, relativist or rather probabilist conception of psychological knowledge, introconvertible conception of the Soul as an essentially self-luminous reality, apotheosis of selfculture and self-sacrifice as fundamental conditions of Ethico-religious life—features that at once put Jainism on the rank of a philosophy that would do more than honour to the realistic, humanistic and personal idealistic reactions in the present-day thought of the west. It is not, of course, possible within the limits of a paper like this to set forth even in outline, these distinctive features of Jaina thought. I propose therefore to circumscribe my discourse of this evening, confining it to what the Jaina has to say on the nature of Existence and Evolution.

In the Jaina scheme of thought the universe has been conceived under the two fundamental categories of Jiva and Ajiva, the Soul and the non-Soul, the conscious and the unconscious. Within the category of non-Soul again are distinguished the subordinate categories of Matter (pudgala), Motion (Dharma), Rest (adharma) Space (Ākāśa) and Time (Kāla) each of the first five categories is termed by the Jaina an *Astikāya*, and the seath, namely *kāla* is excluded from the list of the Astikayas, but retained in the list of Dravyas. The reason is that the first five are all characterized by the twofold feature of *astitvā* or existence and *Kayatvā* i.e. prādeśikatva or spatial distinctions. Kāla has however, *astitva* or existence which pervades all the six dravyas but lacks *pradeśas* or multiple spatial moments, being a unilateral series without having simultaneous relations to a group of multiple points. The other five dravyas have *pradesās* and are therefore capable of simultaneous relations to innumerable points. I shall prefer to call each of these six dravyas by the term *Real*. Now the common inmate characteristic of a dravya or real is *Existence*. The Jaina with his realistic genius, has analyzed the concept of a real and has argued that the inmateness of existence in a real is due to its self-subsistence, i.e. independence of any originating and annihilating causes, uniform persistence and absence in it of spatial determinations.[1] A real may and

[1] Pravacanasara of Kundakundacharya II, 4. and Tattvadipika thereon.

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does develop any derivative characters (vibhavas) but amidst these derivative characters of a real we do not miss its innate character of existence which is its *swabhava* or *svarupa*. Thus existence comes to be the essence of a real and therefore a real is to be equated with an existent or Real and Existent are interchangeable terms.[1] Again as it is the very postulate of the Jaina that the nature of real is dynamic and therefore the real must evolve into qualities (guṇas) and modifications (*paryāyas*) and must constantly undergo the triplicate stage of origination, annihilation and stability answering to the triad of position, negation and synthesis in Hegel's developmental conception of reality, and that the changes and evolutions along with the triplicate process which attains synthesis at every third stage of stability are as real as the evolving reality itself. And the entire dynamic process of development is due to the mutual action and reaction between the four active principles, viz. the soul, the non-soul, motion and rest which are all *parinami* or evolutionary, having the characteristics of both bhāva parinama and parispanda or kriya parinama, i.e. evolutions into being and evolutions into action while the principles of Space and Time are endowed only with bhava parinamas[2]. It follows then that full completeness of existence is not realized either in a real, or a quality or a modification taken singly or separately but only in these taken together. For such a separateness would suggest cleavage between the evolute and the evolving reality reducing each of them in their separation to non-existence. The Jaina makes his position clear by the common illustration of gold (*kārtāsvara*). Just as gold realizes its own nature as an existent through its qualities like yellowness, malleability, etc., and through its modifications or changes of form like ear ring, bangle, etc., which all proceed from gold as a real, even so any real realizes its complete existence only in and through its qualities and modifications various under variable circumstances. Existence is, thus in the complete sense of the term, to be equated with a real with all its qualities and changes of form which are themselves real. And this holds good of the conscious real as well as of the unconscious. The soul as a conscious real evolves itself into its qualities and modifications into its thinkings, feelings and conations and into the various forms of conscious beings and realizes its complete existence through them. This account of reality and existence at once mark the Jaina position out from that of the Buddhist who disintegrates

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[1] McTaggart in his *Nature of existence* comes to the same conclusion that Reality and Existence are identical by following a somewhat different line of argument. Vide, ch. II.

[2] See Pravacanasara, II. 36 and 37, and 41–43.

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reality into shreds of qualities and modifications and from that of the advaitist whose reality swallows up all qualities and modifications.[1]

The realism of Nyaya-Vaisēṣika indeed conceives the qualities (guṇas) and functions (karmas) of the real as also real, having a real relation with real, but its difficulty, the Jaina thinks, is that it, as an advocate of *ārambhava vāda* or the theory of emergence is suggestive of independence and newness and separation of the qualities and modifications from the real from which they proceed. The Nyāya-vaisēṣika, however, shines to obviate the difficulty by its assumption of the relation of sama-vāya or co-inherence between the real and its qualities and functions. But the Jain repudiates this relation of co-inherence on the ground that co-inherence is incompatible with ārambhavāda. For co-inherence will suggest a relation of con-substantiality or identity of essence between those that are related by way of co-inherence and not merely a relation constituted by one of the relations, say a quality, being the recipiendum (ādheya) and the other, say a substance, being the recipiens (ādhāra) [2] Indeed the advocates of samavāya betray their intention to make the elements of the relation, say substance and quality, somehow identical in essence, when they supplement their notion by adding the phrases like *paraspara pariharen*, anyathā bhedābhedavyavas thānupapatteh, etc., but at the cost only of consistency. In the conception of samavāya of the Nyaya vaisēṣika there is the unmistakeable idea of a local separateness between the elements suggested by the expression of *ihapratyaya* and the ādhārā obey a relation, so thinks the Jaina. And its fundamental assumption of ārambhavada commits it to the doctrine of emergence (ārambha) of something new; so that the quality or modification which is ārabhyate or emerges must be something new and different from the constituent causes. Hence the Jaina postulates the principle of pariṇāma according to which the qualities and modifications are the self-evolutions of the real having an identity of essence with it. But on the other hand the Jaina points out that in spite of this metaphysical or real identity between the *Dravay* and its *guṇas* and *poryāyas* there is a logical and conceptual distinction between them. The qualities and modifications are both *bhinna* or distinct as well abhinna or not distinct from the Dravya. Metaphysically they are non-distinct from or identical with the Dravya but logically they are distinct from it; for without this logical distinction there

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[1] It is interesting to note that in the same way we can distinguish the Jaina position from that of Bergson on the one hand who makes reality out of change or flux and from that of Bradley who regards Reality in isolation from the qualities and relations which are mere appearances.

[2] See Prastapada Bhāṣya with Nyāya Kandali, pp. 14–18.

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is no other way of apprehending the dravya as Dravya, guṇa as such and paryaya *per se*.

Now having disposed of the problem of Existence from the Jaina standpoint little remains for me to say on the Jaina conception of evolution which, we have seen already, is so very closely connected with the conception of Existence. We have already pointed at length how the Jain conceives of the real as not only existent but also as evolutionary. Its very existence consists in a dynamic process resulting in the evolution of qualities and modifications coupled with the threefold stage of origination, annihilation and stability. The whole world with its principal contents of the soul and the non-soul has to obey this law of change, process and movement. The important to note here is that the stages of origination and annihilation are like the thesis and antithesis of Hegel having a tendency towards stability which means nothing other than synthesis at a particular stage of the continuous developmental process ready to make room for a fresh origination or a new stage. But this again has to pass over into the stage of annihilation which along with the previous stage jointly acquires a momentum urging the reality to attain to a fresh synthesis and so on. The qualities which originate at a certain stage carry with them their death-signal and the influx of fresh qualities ensure synthesis and stability of the real. This Jaina hypothesis of Evolution, like other hypotheses is an attempt to conceive of the real as it presents itself to common observation. It seems at once emergent and creative. It is emergent in so far as it supplies us with the detailed links of connection between one stage and another which is the main character of the hypothesis of Emergence as pointed out by Lloyd Morgan. It is creative in so far as we do not miss in it the creation of a new feature as indicated by the new synthesis which is attained at every third stage. The scientific character of the theory is made home to us when we note that the Jaina in his account scrupulously purges off any theological dogma and does not bring in a due *ex machina* for the guidance of the developmental process. The conditions and nisus or urge of the development are all inherent in the real. Another important fact that is made clear to us by the Jaina is that as the reality is subject to a continuous process of change and development the reality must be indefinite in character, its indefiniteness must be due to the infinite number of qualities which it is bound to assume (anekātmākatvam vastunah). And the judgements which we may apply for the apprehension of such reality must after be *probable*—a position which has been responsible for the Jaina doctrine of Syadvāda.

KALIPADA MITRA.

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THE ABHAYAGIRI SCHOOL'S VIEWS CONCERNING THE NUMBER OF JĀTAKAS AND THE ENUMERATION OF BOOKS OF THE ABHIDHAMMA PIṬAKA

Here I am not to attempt any fresh historical account of the Abhayagiri school of Buddhism in Ceylon, for which the reader may be humbly referred to Dr. Bapat's informative introduction to his '*Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga*', and Dr. Malalasekera's '*The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*' and '*Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*'. It may now be taken for granted that since the foundation of the Abhayagiri monastery two centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon (Beal, *Records*, ii, p. 247, f.n. 19), or, more accurately, '218 years after the establishment of the Mahāvihāra monastery' (Bapat, *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga*, p. li), it became a notable centre of Buddhist monks and continued to be a powerful school of Buddhist thought and opinion. It is not enough for Dr. Malalasekera to observe that even now some works of the Abhayagiri sect exist (*The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 43, 128-9); he should put forth his very best endeavour to bring them to light without any further delay and make them accessible to the world of scholars. The rivalry which had existed between the boasted Mahāvihāra school and the ill-famed Abhayagiri, though regrettable for certain excesses of embitterment of personal feelings, was a sign of life and health. One broad distinction between the two schools is brought out by Hwen Thsang in his *Si-yu-ki*: 'That whereas the Mahāvihāra school was opposed to the Great Vehicle and adhered to the teaching of the Little Vehicle', the Abhayagiri school 'studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the Tripiṭaka' (Beal, *Records*, ii, p. 247). Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta, Dhammapāla and their compeers, who were celebrities of Mahāvihāra, all upheld the views of their school against the teachers of the other school. They had so much disdain for the rival school of thought that in many instances they did not care to mention it by name but referred to its teachers as *vitaṇḍavādins* or by the illusive phrase '*keci*' ('some'). Here I shall deal only with two points, one concerning the correct total of the Jātakas and the other concerning the enumeration of the books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, in both of which the Abhayagiri school was in the right and the Mahāvihāra in the wrong.

As for the correct total of the Jātakas, we are informed by Fa-Hien that when he visited Ceylon in about the first quarter of the 5th century A.C., the Abhayagiri-vihāra sanctioned representations of 'the five hundred bodily forms which Bodhisattva assumed during his successive births' (Beal, *Records*, i, p. lxxv), which is to

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say, of five hundred Jātakas, and not of five hundred and fifty, a total mentioned by Buddhaghosa and other exponents of the Mahāvihāra tradition.[1]

On this point, it may at once be shown that the total admitted by the Abhayagiri school not only tallied with the one given in the Culla-niddesa (p. 80: *pañca-Jātaka-satāni*) but was more correct of the two. I have elsewhere classified the processes by which the earlier total 500 was, or might be, mechanically and, in a few instances, thoughtlessly increased to 550 (Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I).

Now, as for the enumeration of the books of the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka, Dr. B. C. Law has sought to establish that the Pāli counterparts of the seven Abhidharma Treatises may be taken to represent 'a step in advance from the general bulk of the Suttas', and to form 'a link of transition between the Pāli Suttas and the Abhidhamma Books' (*History of Pāli Lit.*, i, p. 336). The Abhidhamma treatises, on the enumeration of which the Abhayagiri school came into a sharp conflict with the Mahāvihāra, were all on a par with the books of the Pāli Abhidhamma Piṭaka. From the controversy raised by Buddhaghosa in his Atthasālinī (p. 36), it appears that the two schools agreed as to counting the total of the books as seven, and mainly differed as to the inclusion of the Kathāvatthu in the list. Reading between the lines, one may even observe that they differed also as to the counting of the Dhātukathā as a separate text.

The Vitaṇḍavādins would not include the *Kathāvatthu* in the list of the Abhidhamma treatises on the ground that it was (merely) the word of Buddha's disciples in the sense that it was 'settled by Tissa, Moggali's son, two hundred and eighteen years after the Buddha's Parinibbāna' (pe Maung Tin, *The Expositor*, i, p. 5). They would make up the total of seven either with a book called *Mahādhammahadaya*, or with the *Mahā-dhātukathā*. It may be shown that Buddhaghosa has pleaded in vain to justify the inclusion of the Kathāvatthu on a false analogy of the Madhupiṇḍika Sutta. He has not succeded in referring us to any canonical book or passage containing a *mātikā* or first plan of the Book of Controversy which tradition assigns to the reign of Aśoka.

As against the Vitaṇḍavādins' proposal to count the *Mahādhammahadaya* as a separate treatise, Buddhaghosa advances these two arguments, both of which are faulty: (i) That 'in the *Mahādhammahadaya* there is nothing which has not been said already in the *Dhammahadaya-vibhaṅga* (i.e., the concluding chapter of the

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[1] Samanta-pāsādikā, Vol. I. 'Apaṇṇakajātakādīni paññāsâdhikāni pañca-Jātaka-satāni.' Cf. Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, Pt. I. The reference is to a collection such as one available in Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā.

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Vibhaṅga)'; and (ii) that 'the remaining catechetical section, which is peculiar to the *Mahādhammahadaya*, is not long enough to make up a treatise by itself' (pe Maung Tin, *The Expositor*, p. 5). The same twofold argument is put forward by Buddhaghosa against the opponents' *Mahādhātukathā*.

The tenor of the discussion clearly indicates that the *Mahādhammahadaya*, counted as a separate book by the *Vitaṇḍavādins* was a text corresponding to the *Dhammahadaya-vibhaṅga* forming the concluding chapter of the Vibhaṅga, plus the catechetical section (pañhapucchakaṃ) which is not included in the Vibhaṅga chapter. The suspicion is apt to arise if the Mahāvihāra school had not accommodated the *Mahādhammahadaya* in the Vibhaṅga in order to make room for the Kathāvatthu without disturbing the total of seven books and this suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the *Dhammahadaya-vibhaṅga* is a piece of anomaly as a vibhaṅga without the distinction between a *Suttanta-bhājaniya* and an *Abhidhammabhājaniya*. As for the *Mahādhātukathā*, also proposed by the *Vitaṇḍavādins* to be counted as a separate Abhidhamma book, the opponents must not have been so foolish as to suggest a book as deserving to be treated as a separate treatise if it precisely corresponded to the *Dhātukathā*, recognized by the Mahāvihārins. Those who know the contents of the *Dhātukathā* will readily admit that its title is a misnomer, the book having nothing to do with *dhātus* and it being only a textual supplement to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. The *Vitaṇḍavādins' Mahādhātukathā* was, *ex hypothesi*, a treatise worthy of its title,—a treatise with the *dhātus* as its subject-matter.

Who were the *Vitaṇḍavādins* whom the Mahāvihārin Buddhaghosa has tried to refute? According to the Maṇidīpa, they were 'the sectarians of Abhayagiri and Jetavana' (pe Maung Tin, *The Expositor*, p. 5, f.n. 3).

Thus it may be indicated, if not actually established, that according to the Abhayagiri school, the Abhidhamma Piṭaka comprised these seven books: *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (together with the supplement in the *Dhātukathā*), *Vibhaṅga*, *Puggala-paññatti*, *Mahādhammahadaya*, *Mahādhātukathā*, *Yamaka*, and *Paṭṭhāna*.

B. M. Barua.

THE DATE OF MADHUSŪDANA SARASVATĪ

Two very eminent scholars differ widely on the question of the date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the great author of the 'Advaita-

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siddhi'. Prof. Hiriyanna[1] places him about 1500 A.D., while M.M. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī[2] says that Madhusūdana flourished in the last three quarters of the 17th century. The question of Madhusūdana's date, therefore, calls for investigation.

Unfortunately, Madhusūdana has left no clue as to his date beyond mentioning the names of his teachers in the 'Advaitasiddhi' and elsewhere. Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh of Calcutta[3] has, after a very elaborate discussion, suggested that Madhusūdana lived from about 1525 to about 1632 A.D. Ghosh has a strange knack of mixing up legend with history, but he leaves an impression that Madhusūdana attained to a great age even though that might be much less than 107 years. A few of his data might be placed before the readers of this Journal. First, he mentions that one of the copies of the MS. of Madhusūdana's 'Siddhāntabindu', collected by M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj of Benaras, bears the date Śaka 1539. Secondly, he states that Śeṣagovinda, in his tīkā on the 'Siddhānta-saṃgraha', a work ascribed to Śaṃkara, describes himself as the disciple of Madhusūdana and the son of Śeṣa-paṇḍita, and that this Śeṣa-paṇḍita, also known as Kṛṣṇa-paṇḍita, was the guru of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, while Bhaṭṭojī's brother, Raṅgajī, was a disciple of Nṛsiṃha Āśrama. Ghosh further says that it is mentioned in Farquhar's 'Fighting Sects of India' that Madhusūdana prevailed upon Raja Todarmal to intercede with Emperor Akbar in order to stop the oppression of the Hindu ascetics of Benares by Muslim Mullas. I have had no opportunity of checking the sources of these statements.

In the second benedictory verse of the 'Advaitasiddhi', Madhusūdana salutes Rāma, Viśveśvara and Mādhava whom he mentions as his gurus in his Gītā commentary; at the end of the first book of the 'Advaitasiddhi', he describes himself as the disciple of Viśveśvara Sarasvatī; elsewhere in the same work he mentions Mādhava Sarasvatī as his vidyā-guru. It would be legitimate to infer from this that Viśveśvara initiated him into Sannyāsa, while Rāma and Mādhava were his vidyā-gurus. This Rāma was probably Rāma Tīrtha the prolific writer of Vedānta works.

Prof. Dineshchandra Bhattacharya, in his interesting article on 'Sanskrit scholars of Akbar's time' (I.H.Q., Vol. XIII, No. 1), refers to the list of 140 learned men of Akbar's time, 32 of them being Hindus, in Ain 30, Bk. II, of the 'Ain-i-Akbari' (Blochmann's Edition). The very first Hindu name in the list is spelt 'Madhú Sarsuti'. Bhattacharya says that Madhú, as spelt in the Persian

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[1] Introduction to the 'Iṣṭasiddhi' of Vimuktātman, p. i.
[2] Introduction to the 'Brahmasiddhi' of Maṇḍana Miśra, p. i.
[3] Bengali introduction to his edition of the 'Advaitasiddhi'.

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original, clearly reads Mādhava. The very next name is 'Madhusūdan'. From this collocation Bhattacharya rightly infers that the two names refer to Mādhava Sarasvatī and his pupil, Madhusūdana. The other relevant names found in the list are those of 'Narain Asram', 'Ram Tirth', 'Nar Sing', and 'Kishn Pandit'. These apparently correspond to Nārāyaṇa Āśrama, the disciple and commentator of Nṛsiṃha Āśrama, the commentator Rāma Tīrtha, Nṛsiṃha Āśrama, author of the 'Bhedadhikkāra', and Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita or Śeṣa Paṇḍita, the guru of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita. These facts dispose of Prof. Kuppuswami's guess as to Madhusūdana's time.

The date of Madhusūdana's birth, viz, 1525 A.D., proposed by Ghosh, appears to be rather late. He mentions a tradition that Vyāsa Tīrtha, author of the 'Nyāyāmṛta', being unable to refute the 'Advaitasiddhi' on account of extreme old age, deputed his pupil, Vyāsarāma, to study the 'Advaitasiddhi' with Madhusūdana and to master it with a view to writing a complete refutation of the work. It is a fact that Vyāsarāma did attempt a refutation of the 'Advaitasiddhi' in his tīkā on the 'Nyāyāmṛta', named 'Taraṅginī'. B. Venkoba Rao, in the introduction to his edition of the 'Vyāsa-yogi-caritam' (p. clxxv), proves that Vyāsa Tīrtha died in 1539 A.D. If so, the 'Advaitasiddhi' must have been written near about this date, and Madhusūdana's date of birth has to be placed at least two decades anterior to 1525.

From what has preceded, it would appear safe to provisionally accept 1500 A.D. as the time near about which Madhusūdana was born. It is hoped that scholars will undertake a thorough study of the works of Madhusūdana and his adversaries with a view to arriving at a more definite finding about his date.

AMARNATH RAY.

THE ŚAKA RIVAL OF RĀMAGUPTA

According to the *Harṣacarita*, Candragupta killed at Aripura a certain *Śakapati* who was sexually inclined towards the wife of another person.[1] The gloss of Śaṅkara, the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhōja, the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, the *Devī-Candra-guptam*, the *Kāvyamīmāṁsa*, and the Sanjan copper plate grant have, one and all, made it abundantly clear that the *parakalatra*, here referred to, was Dhruvadevī, the queen of Candragupta II's elder brother Rāmagupta who being hemmed in at Aripura by the Śakapati agreed to surrender her to their leader. But who this

[1] *Harṣacrita, Nirṇayasāgara* edition, p. 200.

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Śaka leader was is a question that is still to be decided. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, following the lead of the commentator Saṅkara who translated the word Śakapati as *Śakānam ācārya*, has been disposed to regard him as a religious preceptor of the Śakas, who staying in a religious retreat on a hill-top, most probably in subordination to the ruler of Kartṛpura, attacked Rāmagupta and his party on behalf of his overlord.[1] But as pointed out by me in the *Journal of Indian History*, 1936, his position is hardly tenable. 'The extracts from the Devī-Candraguptam do not bear him out. In these the Śaka invader is styled *Śakapati* and not *Śakācārya*. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* gives him the same title, the *Mujmalut-Tawarīkh* does not mention a religious preceptor as the adversary of Rawwal, and the interpretation of Śaṅkarārya who equates *Śakapati* with *Śakācārya*, being opposed to the meanings assigned to the word *pati* by our Sanskrit lexicons, must be rejected in face of the cumulative evidence on the other side furnished by all the other books including the *Harṣacarita* which states clearly that it was a Śaka ruler who was murdered, while courting another man's wife, by Candragupta disguised as a woman. Śaṅkarārya's being right in explaining the word *parakalatra*, without going against any Sanskrit lexicon, does not mean that he is necessarily as right, when he assigns meanings to words leaving aside altogether the meanings given to them by Sanskrit lexicographers. Moreover, even if it be admitted that Śaṅkarārya was right in interpreting *Śakapati* as *Śakācārya* who would except this religious head, whose retreat was so far away from the domains of his co-religionists and disciples to command an army that could not only hold its own against, but also reduce to sore straits, the army of the most powerful ruler of Northern India. Further, he must have been really a strange religious head who asked the husbands to surrender their wives before he allowed them to go away unmolested.'[2]

So we must still answer the question as to who this Śakapati was, and the reply is, I believe, vouchsafed by pondering over the reasons that led Śaṅkara to explain *pati* as *ācārya*. It must be admitted that Śaṅkara had before him some very old and reliable glosses which he used in the compilation of his own commentary, for how otherwise could he know that the *parakalatra* referred to was Dhruvasvaminī, the wife of Candragupta's elder brother. So Śaṅkara's explanation of *pati* as *ācārya* was most probably due to his misunderstanding of the meaning assigned to the word by some older commentator who, I surmise, translated the word *Śakapati* as

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[1] *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, p. 195.
[2] *Journal of Indian History*, 1936, p. 316.

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Śakasvāmin. In the days of Amara and Bāṇa, the word svāmin merely meant a lord, but our eighteenth century commentator Śaṅkara having before him the examples of *ācāryas* like Śaṅkara-svāmin, Ramānujasvāmin and so forth misunderstood it to mean a religious preceptor and changed accordingly the explanation *Śakasvamin* of the older commentator into *Śakācarya* of his own, without being in the least cognizant of the fact that he was thereby changing the meaning of the original word and laying the basis of historical error and much unnecessary theorizing.

So *Śakasvāmin* was most probably the older explanation; and for the real meaning of the word *svāmin* and *pati* when they are combined with the term Śaka we must turn to the Saka language itself. According to Sten Konow the Indians translate the word *muruṇḍa* with *svāmin*. The Chinese have the word *Sai-wang*, the Saka lords, as a translation of the corresponding word *Sakamurunda*, and 'the Indian translation of this term by *Sakaṇṛpati* is an exact parallel to the Chinese word'.[1] Hence it might be averred with a fair amount of certainty that it is some *Śakamuruṇḍa* chief who is referred to by the word *Śakapati* of the *Harṣacarita* which is, as already pointed out, changed into *Śakācārya* of Śaṅkara through the intermediate explanation *Śakasvāmin* of a commentary unfortunately no longer extant.

The Zeda inscription calls Kaniṣka a *muroḍa* (Sansk. *Murunda*).[2] The *Āvaśyaka-Bṛhadvṛtti* mentions a Muruṇḍa ruler at Pāṭaliputra.[3] About 240 A.D. a Muruṇḍa ruler sent four horses as a present to the ruler of Funan.[4] All these rulers were Kuṣans. So the Śakapati of the *Harṣacarita*, or *Śakamuruṇḍa*, as we might call him, was most probably a Kuṣan ruler who though he submitted to the arms of the redoubtable Samudragupta threw off the Gupta yoke as soon as the emperor died and almost succeeded in reviving the lost glories of the Kuṣan Empire by defeating his son and successor Rāmagupta, the cowardly husband of Dhruvadevī. He, however, failed before the superior stratagem and skill of Candra-Gupta II who seems to refer to the defeat of this very Śaka ruler in the line

tīrtvā saptamukhāni yena samare Sindhorjjitā Vāhlikaḥ.[5]

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

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1 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 3.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
3 U.I., p. 3, see the *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, p. 185.
4 *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, p. 186.
5 V. I of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription.

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MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA (I)

In a note entitled the 'Mandasor inscription of the Silk Weavers' Guild' (Indian Culture, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 379–81) on the Mandasor inscription of Kumaragupta, otherwise known as Vatsabhaṭṭi's Praśasti Mr. Dasaratha Sarma advances grammatical arguments in support of the correct translation of the 36th verse

'बऊना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः।

व्यग्रीर्य्यतैकदेशोऽस्य भवनस्य ततोऽधुना॥'

in the inscription. The plain and simple translation of the verse is: 'Then (after Malava year 493) a long time having elapsed, now (about Malava year 529) a part of this edifice (Sun temple) has been terribly mutilated by other Kings'. The late Dr. G. Bühler —a great Sanskritist—understood the same meaning of the verse as is evident from his following remarks: 'A postscript narrating a restoration of the edifice *demolished* in parts, with a mention of the date of this event and a description of the season when it took place, verses 36–42', ('Indian Inscriptions and the antiquity of Indian artificial poetry'—Vatsabhaṭṭi's Praśasti'—Indian Antiquary for 1913). The two dates in the inscription, Malava years 493 and 529, are assumed to be equivalent to A.D. 436 and 472, i.e., Gupta years 117 and 153. On Fleet's epoch, on the first date (G.E. 117) Kumaragupta (I) was ruling but the second date (G.E. 153) falls during Skanda's rule according to some historians or in his successor's reign according to others. As there was a new ruler on the second date according to Fleet's epoch the name of this ruler ought to have found a place in the inscription and its absence is an uncommon practice. But in the inscription the name of the paramount sovereign Kumaragupta (I) alone is mentioned. It seems to obviate this difficulty, Fleet translated the verse thus: 'In the course of a long time under other kings parts of this temple fell into disrepair', which is unconvincing, for, on his theory only one king's (Skanda's) reign at the utmost might have elapsed by G.E. 153 and the name of the then reigning king should have been stated in the inscription and also because it is impossible to make one believe that such a stately and massive temple could fall into disrepair of itself within the short period of thirty-six years. Mr. Sarma, therefore, rightly suspected the correctness of the translation of Fleet copied by Diskalkar. But as Mr. Sarma was also possessed of Fleet's epoch he searched for the name of the ruler in Malava year 529 and opined that it was a Huna King and because he belonged to the hated Mlecchas the King's name was not mentioned in the inscription which is

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unwarranted. K. Rama Pisharoti ('Vatsabhatti's Prasasti'—Indian Culture, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 110-11) admits the force of the argument advanced in Sarma's note, against the short period of thirty-six years to introduce decay in that stately and massive temple of itself and tried to overcome the difficulty by accepting Fleet's translation of the verse 36 and translating a part of verse 37 and 39 as 'the temple was renovated after five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed after the construction of the temple (in Malava year 493). That is according to Mr. Pisharoti the temple was renovated in Malava year (493+529, or) 1022 assumed to be equivalent to A.D. 966. He even goes so far as to remark that 'the text, as it stands, does not warrant any other interpretation', and also refers the reader to his paper on this topic contributed to the Dr. S.K.A. Commemoration volume, pp. 67–93. I wonder how Mr. Pisharoti could support this interpretation when in verse 37 it is clearly stated that the work of repair was performed by the very same charitable guild of silk weavers to increase their own fame

('स्वयशोवृद्धये सर्वमत्युदारमुदार्या ।

संस्कारितमिदं भूयः श्रेण्या-भानुमतो गृहम् ॥' Verse 37.)

It is regrettable that Mr. Pisharoti quoted only 'संस्कारितमिदं भूयः' from the verse without quoting the rest. He seems to have overlooked the last verse (verse 44) wherein it is distinctly stated that the repair of the temple and the composition of the Praśasti by Vatsabhaṭṭi were done by order of the same guild of silk weavers and also to have overlooked the palæographical aspect of the inscription completely. For Mr. Pisharoti to make one believe that the same guild continued for 529 years at the least is simply preposterous. The plain and simple meaning of verse 36 has already been stated and the two dates in the inscription (Malava years 493 and 529) are equivalent as I have already shown in my paper on the Gupta Era, to Gupta (Vikrama) years 93 and 129 and on both these dates the paramount sovereign was Kumaragupta (I) as stated in the inscription.

This shows the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch which cannot explain epigraphic difficulties.

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEA.

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A BENGALI CUSTOM

In Smṛti works we have lists of *avaktavya-nāmāni* (i.e. names not to be pronounced). The *Karmalocana*,[1] for instance, writes:

ātma-nāma guror=nāma nāmāni kṛpaṇasya ca |
prāṇ-ānte='pi na vaktavyaṃ jyeṣṭhaputra-kalatrayoḥ ||

In Eastern India, a married girl cannot pronounce her husband's name. This custom has undergone a peculiar development in some parts of Bengal. In this note, I am referring to the development of the custom that I have noticed particularly in the Sadar Subdivision of the Faridpur District.

A married girl does not pronounce the names of her husband, his parents, his elder brothers, his paternal and maternal uncles and their wives, his paternal and maternal grandfathers and grandmothers, etc. She will not even pronounce words and names which resemble in pronunciation, however slightly, the name of any of the above relations. Sometimes she expresses a particular word by a word or phrase of more or less the same significance, but sometimes the first letter of the word or name is changed. It is very interesting that the custom prevails amongst women of both the Hindu and Musalmān communities. I give below a list of names (with local pronunciation), words resembling any of them in pronunciation, and their substitutes used by girls.

Names.	*Words.*	*Substitutes.*
1. Gauramohana (gourmohon).	garu (*goru*, the cow).	sæoṭ,[2] *baṛo* bāchur (lit. big calf).
2. Ādyanātha (*ā'ddonāth*) Ādimohana (*ādimohon*) Adilad-dīn (called *ādeloddi*).	ādā (root-stock of ginger plant).	*jhā'*lkæ.[3]
3. Kālīnātha (*kālināth*).	kāli (ink).	ā'n*dh*æ.[4]

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1 Quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *nāma*.
2 The meaning and origin of the word are not clear.
3 Probably from *jhāla*, pungent.
4 Probably a corrupt form of *andhakāra* (cf. *āndhiyāra*).

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Names.	*Words.*	*Substitutes.*
4. Amīr-ad-dīn (called (*āmiroddi*).	āma (mango).	phal (fruit).
5. ,,	ambubāci (called *āmāboti*).	phalboti.
6. ,,	amābasyā (called (āmābā'śśæ).	phalbā'śśæ.
7. Rāsamohana (*rāśmohon*).	rāstā (road).	śaṛok (road).
8. Yāminī (*jāmini*).	jāma (Eugenia jambos).	kālā phal (black fruit).
9. Madhusūdana (*modhusudon*).	madhu (*modhu*, honey).	cāker ras (lit. juice of the hive).
10. Kedāranātha (*kædārnāth*).	kādā (sometimes pronounced kædā, mud, clay).	khic (clay).
11. Bisbanātha *biśśonāth*) Biśbeśbara (*biśśeśśar*).	bṛhaspati bāra (called *biśśud bār*, Thursday).	bu*dh* bārer parer bār (day after Wednesday).
12. Pūrṇacandra (*purnocandro*).	pūrṇimā	jyochanā (*zosnā*, moon light).
13. Nīlamādhaba (*nilmādhob*).	nīla (*nil*, indigo).	kāpoṛe dewā kāli (ink used in dyeing cloth).
14. Māṇika (*mānik*, colloquially *mānæ*).	mānakacu (*mānkocu*, the arum).	baṛa (*baṛo*, big) kocu.
15. Gobinda (*gobindo*).	gobindapurer hāṭa[1] (the *hāṭ* of Gobindapur).	pāṭ-bæcā hāṭ (the *hāṭ* where jute is sold).
16. Lakṣmī (*lokkhi*).		phokkhi.
17. Jagat (*jagot*).		phagot.

It is said that a married girl's husband's name was Lokanātha (*loknāth*, colloquially *nóā*[2] from *lokā*), and the latter's father and elder brother bore the names Ādyanātha and Madhusūdana respectively. Once she had to advise a friend regarding the preparation of a particular medicine which required *ādā* (root-stock of ginger plant), *madhu* (honey) and a piece of *nóā* (iron, from *lohā*=*lauha*). It was not possible for her to pronounce any of the words; so she

[1] *Hāṭ* is a market held twice a week.
[2] Generally, iron.

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said, 'Prepare some juice of my husband's elder brother, put into it a few drops of my father-in-law, then put my bāṛia*o*lā (bāṛīwālā, owner of the house, i.e. husband) into the mixture for a while after burning him well'.

The word ph*a*nllā (written *phalānā=amuka*, i.e., so-and-so) is sometimes used by a girl to indicate a person whose name she cannot pronounce. There is a distich said to be the prayer to the god Kārttika (=Kārttikeya) offered by a girl who could not pronounce the word *kārttika* which was her husband's name. In the language of books it may be written as:

phalānā ṭhākura phalānā ṭhākura āmāra phalānā yadi bā̆ce।
jora-phalānā diyā kariba pūjā phalānā phalānā māse॥

'O so-and-so god (Kārttikeya), if my so-and-so (husband) comes round safely, I will offer worship to a double so-and-so (i.e. a pair of images of the god Kārttikeya) in so-and-so month (month of Kārttika every year.'

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE BEARING OF THE HARAHA INSCRIPTION ON THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

In a note contributed to the I.C. Vol. 4, pp. 104-5, Professor Dhirendranath Mookerji has sought to prove by the evidence of the Haraha inscription [1] that the epoch of the Gupta Era as determined by Dr. Fleet is 'in error by at least a hundred years'.

His arguments are:—

1. 'That Sūryavarman was born sometimes about Vikrama year (611–21) 590, and Īśānavarman's glorious conquests were won and he became a Mahārājādhirāja at least about Vikrama year 589.' Further, 'In Mālava year 589 which is assumed to be identical with Vikrama year, Rajādhirāja Yaśodharman, Viṣṇuvardhana was reigning, thus making Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman Maukhari as his contemporary. This shows clearly that the Mālava and Vikrama years are not identical'.
2. The Imperial Gupta monarch Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta son of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya was reigning

[1] See E.I. Vol. XIV, p. 110 ff.

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in 532 A.D. From the Aphsad inscription[1] we learn that the later Gupta King Kumāragupta son of Jīvitagupta I was a contemporary of and fought against Īśānavarman. Therefore this Kumāragupta must have flourished a little before 532 A.D. and Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta son of Narasiṁhagupta must be placed much earlier still.

Now as regards the first argument, it is true that Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman was reigning in the Mālava year 589 and it may also be admitted that Sūryavarmā was born in the Vikrama year 590. But there is nothing to force on us the corollary that Īśānavarman had achieved the victories and become a Mahārājādhirāja before that date. We know for certain that Īśānavarman was the first in his line to assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja,[2] or in other words the Maukharis became a sovereign power in northern India, only from the time of Īśānavarman. While we have no means of ascertaining the exact date when that sovereignty was established, it is certain that it must have taken sometime for Īśānavarman, after his accession, to launch his victorious compaigns. There is nothing in the inscription to indicate that Īśānavarman had achieved these conquests before the birth of Sūryavarman or 21 years before 611 V.S. It was natural for the author of the Haraha inscription to describe the achievements of Īśānavarman first and then pass on to his son. But that simply means that Īśānavarman had won these victories before the Haraha inscription was put up, i.e. before 611 V.S. There is no reason why we should necessarily date these conquests before the birth of Sūryavarman. Supposing that Īśānavarman's victorious career began 10 years after the birth of Sūryavarman, it must have taken him some years to subdue his rivals in northern India. At any rate he could not have become a Mahārājādhirāja before 542 A.D. Thus, as a Mahārājādhirāja he was not contemporaneous with Rājādhirāja Yaśodharman.

We know that Yaśodharman's wars and conquests were over and his power consolidated before 532 A.D. the date of Mandasor stone slab inscription. Considering his great achievements, it has to be conceded that it must have taken him at least 15 years to consolidate his power. His career began, therefore in C. 517 A.D.[3]

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[1] *C. II*, Vol. III, pp. 200–208.

[2] See the Maukhari genealogy as given in the Asirgadha copper seal (CII. Vol. III, p. 219 f) and the Nālandā clay seal, E.I. Vol. XXI, p. 73 ff.

[3] It should be specially noted that by this time the age of the Imperial Guptas had come to an end. The last Gupta Emperor was Bhānugupta who lost his sovereignty perhaps after the battle of Eran in 191 or 510 A.D.

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Thus from 517 to 542 there is an interval of 25 years during which Yaśodharman had come and gone like a meteor. After his disappearance from the scene the overlordship of northern India had been once again thrown open and was a coveted object for every ambitious ruler. Īśanavarman taking advantage of the opportunity made a bold bid, and established his supremacy.

Thus there is nothing in the Haraha inscription that should convince us to give up the identification of the Mālava and Vikrama Eras, suggested by Dr. Fleet and conclusively established by the Menalgadh inscription to which attention was first drawn by the late Professor Dr. F. Kielhorn.[1]

As to Professor Mookerji's second argument, there can be no dispute with regard to its first part, i.e. Kumāragupta son of Jīvitagupta I was a contemporary of Īśānavarman, except that instead of assigning the exact date 532 A.D. we might put him somewhere before 554 A.D. However the second part of the argument is entirely unacceptable. It is uncritical to say definitely, that Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, son of Narasiṁhagupta, has to be placed in C. 532 A.D. and thus Fleet's theory creates a conflict. There is at present a consensus of opinion[2] with only one dissentient voice that Kumāragupta son of Narasiṁhagupta ruled in 472 A.D. Thus it is clear that he flourished long before Kumāragupta of the Aphsad inscription, and the conflict is only imaginary rather than real. There is no authoritative evidence to place Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta II, son of Narasiṁhagupta as late as 532 A.D. except the pseudo-historical tale of the defeat of Mihirakula told by Hieun Tsang. Thus it is clear, that Professor Mookerji's objections do not in any way upset the epoch of the Gupta Era as determined by Dr. Fleet.

JAGAN NATH.

IMAGERY OF MOON AND OCEAN IN KALIDASA

The mystery of the relationship of moon and ocean affords Kalidasa in his epics material for a series of similes studied in this note. Its object is to illustrate the wealth of illustrative content derived from the one idea and incidentally to raise one small question of interpretation.

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[1] See I.A. 1890, p. 316.

[2] Mr. Panna Lal, I.C.S., Dr. Smith, Dr. H. Ray Chaudhri, Prof. R. D. Bannerji, all favour this view.

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This relationship resolves itself for Kalidasa into two postulates, namely, the tidal attraction of the moon and a confused or conventional belief that the rising moon makes a rough sea.

From this source illustrative value is derived in two categories:—

(*a*) The purely physical thought of meeting, approach, following, or accompaniment.

(*b*) Psychological experience of two kinds, namely, mental agitation through anger or other passion, and its opposite, the placidity of supreme contentment.

Dominating and colouring all these ideas is, of course, the sense of whiteness inherent in foam and moonlight, whiteness with its conventional suggestions, but this purely picturesque aspect is never devoid of the deeper content. Nor are the physical and psychological strains ever entirely apart. It is this interplay of ideas that gives the peculiar force to imagery in Kalidasa.

It would be tedious to analyze instances, but a summary grouping will serve to illustrate with what variety these different conceptions enter into this small field of imagery.

The similes of moon and ocean for the welcome to the visitor at the city gate,[1] the army following its leader [2] and the bridegroom [3] conducted to the bride are predominantly of the physical type, but all these carry the implication of placid emotion and the two latter the sense of dazzling whiteness.

The simile of sea and moon for father [4] overflowing with delight at the sight of his son is essentially of the quiet emotional type, as is also the use of the same idea to illustrate brotherly [5] unity, though the sense of accompaniment here predominates. On the other hand insult [6] provokes indignation as the new moon agitates the sea, while the same simile is used elsewhere, with close verbal reminiscences, to describe the [7] first access of erotic passion.

Did Kalidasa confuse the tidal effect of new and full moon with that of a change of the weather at the rise of the moon? नव in R.V. VII 19 as interpreted from K.S. VI 8 must almost certainly mean new moon, i.e., first day of the moon. न वैरुदन्वानिव चन्द्रपादैः in that case corresponds to विनीतैरवरोधरत्नैः in the sense of modest gesture and appearance. If one could take नव here as meaning the *rising* moon i.e., the full moon rising on the sea

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1 R.V. V. 61.
2 R.V. XVI. 27.
3 R.V. VII. 19 (K.S. VII 73).
4 R.V. III. 17.
5 R.V. X. 82.
6 R.V. XII. 36
7 K.S. III. 67.

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(चन्द्रोदय इव in R.V. XII 36 and K.S. III 67), this particular simile would rather gain than lose in expressiveness, but it would then remain an open question whether the tidal effect of the *new* moon enters at all into Kalidasa's conception of this imagery. By the 'roughness' of the sea he is thinking of course of Surf on the coast in the moonlight, not of a storm on the open sea. If Kalidasa saw the sea at all, it was on the surf ridden Eastern coast described with such imaginative feeling in the Sixth and Thirteenth Sargas of the Raghuvamsa.

C. W. GURNER.

KARṆASUVARṆA AND SUVARṆA-KUḌYA

Of the geographical name of *Karṇasuvarṇa*, our knowledge had hitherto been based on three different pieces of evidence, viz. the Vappaghôṣavâṭa grant of the Mahârâjâdhirâja Jayanâga, the account of Hiuen Tsang, and the Nidhânpur copper-plate grant of the Mahârâjadhirâja Bhâskaravarman of Kâmarûpa. The grant of Jayanâga, which is supposed to date from the latter half of the sixth century A.D., was issued when he was resident at Karṇasuvarṇaka (*Karṇṇasuvarṇṇak=âvasthita*),[1] and according to Hiuen Tsang, Śaśâṅka, the murderer of Râjyavardhana (606 A.D.), was the king of *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*, whereof, as of many other countries, the pilgrim records an interesting account regarding the land, the people and their religion. The only point from that well-known account, that need be reproduced here, is that beside the capital, which was 20 *li* in circuit, was the *Lo-to-mo-chih* (*Rakta-mṛttikâ*) Monastery, a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious Brethren.[2]

The older identification of Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital, with Bara-bâzâr in Barabhûm, Rohtâsgaḍ in Shâhbâd district, and Sufaran in Chôṭa-Nâgpur district as proposed by Cunningham, Fleet and Beglar respectively, have long been laid on the shelf in favour of Beveridge's identification with Râṅgâ-mâṭi (Rakta-mṛtti), alias Kânsonâgaḍ, on the west bank of the Bhâgîrathî, 6 or 7 miles to the south of Berhampur. The trial excavations conducted a few years ago by the Archæological Department at the so-called *Devil's Mound* at Râṅgâmâṭi brought to light the remains of a Buddhist Vihâra of the 6th to 7th century A.D. but 'no definite confirmation' we are told, was 'available about its identity with the Karṇasuvarṇa

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 63.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 191.

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(i.e. Rakta-mṛttikâ) Vihâra'.[1] But this is no reason to conclude that Beveridge's identification of Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital, is any way wide of the mark. The site with its two significant names, Râṅgâmâṭî and Kânsonâgaḍ, with its soil (*mṛṭṭikâ*), that is characteristically red (*rakta*), where the coins of Jaya(nâga) and others, as also many old sculptures and other objects of antiquity have been found, and which is dotted with a number of mounds,—has a serious claim to an extensive-scale excavation, before any such indication be given out.

It is dubious if Karṇasuvarṇa ever came under the sway of Harṣavardhana, but in the second or the beginning of the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. it was occupied, for some time at least, by Harṣa's faithful ally, Bhâskaravarman, whose Nidhânpur copper-plate inscription was issued from the camp located at Karṇasuvarṇa (*Skandhavârât-Karṇṇasuvarṇṇa-vâsakât*), that was possessed of 'splendid ships, elephants, horses and footsoldiers (*mahânauhasty=aśva-patti-saṁpaty=upâta*).[2] The vast bed of the old course of the Bhâgîrathî by the side of Râṅgâmâṭi at once vouches for the truth of that large ships could easily sail and lie in anchor in the waters of that place in olden times.

Thus, associated with the names of three great monarchs, Jayanâga, Śaśâṅka and Bhâskaravarman, the history of Karṇasuvarṇa was hitherto known to cover a period of more or less a century, from the latter half of the sixth to the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. Quite recently, however, there has come out a fourth source of information to reveal the fact that the city continued to flourish for over two centuries more. Its name has been found to occur in the Southern recension of the text of the *Karpûra-mañjarî* of Râjaśêkhara, thanks to the researches of Dr. M. M. Ghosh. The drama in eulogizing in the introduction the royal patron of the author as the lord of various places of Eastern India, including Campâ, Râḍha, Harikêla and Kâmarûpa, characterizes the king 'as one who had disregarded the bribe or payment of the people of Karṇasuvarṇa' (*avamaṇṇida-kaṇṇasuvaṇṇa-dâṇa*).[3] When after this and how exactly this glorious capital of the Gauḍa country dwindled into insignificance is well-nigh impossible to predict to-day.

The Kauṭilîya *Arthaśâstra* refers several times to a place called Suvarṇakuḍya in the chapter on 'Examination of Gems that are to be entered into the Treasury' (Book II, ch. 11). As to the nine varieties of *Tailaparṇika* (fragrant substances) as mentioned by

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[1] *A.S.I., Ann. Rep.*, 1928-29, p. 99.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 73 and 76; *Kâmarûpa-śâsanâvalî*, p. 11.

[3] See *Karpûra-mañjarî*, ed. Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, 1938, Introduction, p. xxiii, Text, p. 5, and Notes, p. 70.

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the Kauṭilîya, the first five varieties named after five different places, including Suvarṇakuḍya, are according to the commentator products of Kâmarûpa, and the term *Suvarṇakuḍya* is explained as '*Suvarṇakuḍyô nâma grâmaḥ Kâmarupagaḥ*'.[1] While discussing the geography of the Kauṭilîya, Mr. H. V. Trivedi simply observed on this point that 'All these places, with the exception of Svarṇabhûmi, Uttaraparvata and Pâralauhitya, are located in Assam by the commentator, and no more information concerning their identification is available from any other sources known to us',[2] and Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur has in his *Early History of Kâmarûpa* left out the question altogether. Years ago, the late MM. H. P. Śâstrî, however, opined that it is Suvarṇakuḍya that later became known as Karṇasuvarṇa,[3] and Dr. S. K. Chatterji seems to have accepted this view.[4] If it be a correct representation of fact, it would prove that Karṇasuvarṇa as a city grew up in the fourth century B.C. at the latest. But the difficulty is that nothing warrants us to prefer this conjecture to the version of the commentary. On the contrary, if the four other names in the group comprising the first five ones in the passage in question be names of places in Assam, there is no conceivable reason why we should single out the name of Suvarṇakuḍya and say that the commentator is wrong. Again, since the term *kuḍya* means *bhitti*[5] or *foundation* (cf. *Abhidhâna-cintâmaṇi* of Hêmacandra, IV. 69), the word *Suvarṇa-kuḍya* signifies a place, the foundation of which was believed to have been gold, and we know from different sources that Assam was a place where gold was abundant. 'It is the general belief of the inhabitants of the surrounding countries', wrote Mr. Moneeram one hundred years ago in his excellent account of washing for gold in Assam, 'that the rivers of the valley of Assam abound in gold, and this is in a manner corroborated by the numbers of the inhabitants of *Assam*, who are gold-washers by profession'.[6] 'The whole of the rivers in Assam', continued the writer, 'contain (as formerly noticed) more or less gold in their sands, and the soil of which their banks are composed'. If we remember this, as also the version of the commentary on the Kauṭilîya, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Suvarṇakuḍya was one of the tracts in Assam, on the bank of some river that was in plenty of gold.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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1 *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya, with the comm. Śrîmûla of MM. T. Ganapati Śâstrî, Part I, 1924, p. 190.
2 *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. I, p. 260.
3 *Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ*, 1321 B.S., p. 249.
4 *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, Part I, Introduction, p. 70.
5 *Bhitti* may also mean *wall*, but it would not yield any sense in this case.
6 *J.A.S.B.*, 1838, p. 625.

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A NOTE ON THE NOSE-ORNAMENT IN MOHENJO-DARO

Controversies regarding whether nose-ornaments were actually worn in India or not, before the advent of Islam, are well known in the studies of Indian archæology.

Knowledge of early Indian personal ornaments may be had from both archæological and literary sources, but due to the scarcity of archæological finds in the shape of actual jewellery and sparing mention of ornaments in ancient literature one has mainly to depend on the representations of ornaments seen on the specimens of sculpture and painting of ancient age. Mention of any nose-ornament cannot probably be found earlier than the 9th century A.D.[1] and Alexander Cunningham, than whom none was better acquainted with the remains of early Indian sculptures and paintings, was of opinion that no trace of any nose-ornament was to be met with in any of those remains.[2]

For a study of jewellery worn in India during the Chalcolithic age one has to depend absolutely on archæological sources contained in the actual jewellery found in course of excavation and those seen represented on the human figures, also found from the proto-historic sites. Though not equal in bulk to the hoards of jewellery found from the chalcolithic sites of Egypt, Sumeria and South-Russia, where these survive mainly in sepulchral deposits, the finds of jewellery made from the ruins of Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro in Sind betray a wide knowledge of the Indus Valley craftsman, regarding the shapes of the ornaments and the technical processes employed in their manufacture. Unfortunately however, very few of these ornaments have been found in tact and in case of many of these again it cannot be definitely said as to which part of the body they were actually meant for.

To become definite regarding the identification of many of these ornaments no other help is more valuable than an attempt to corroborate them with the jewellery represented on many of the human figures found from the allied sites. Fortunately enough, many of the ornaments seen on a number of figures afford necessary clues for plausible identifications of many of the actual ornaments, which would otherwise remain practically unattributable to any part of the body due to their queer shapes.

From the actual things found and objects seen represented on the human figures unearthed in the said sites, it may safely be

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1 Cunningham, The Stupa of Barhut, p. 34.
2 N. N. Das Gupta in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LXIII, p. 144, (May, 1937).

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said that the Indus valley people, especially women, freely indulged in wearing various sorts of ornaments for the adornment of head, ear, neck, arm, waist and ankle. Mr. E. Mackay, however, thinks that nose-ornaments were also in vogue and he identified many of the objects found in Mohenjo-daro as nose-ornaments.[1] Of these ornaments almost all are simple disks, small in size (mostly about $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter), having in some cases small projections on the back or holes through the centres, evidently for the insertion of some sort of pins. These projections or the missing pins were fixed on them so that they might be attached to some pierced portion of the body. The objects, however, closely resemble those discular things identified by Mr. Mackay as ear-studs, the only difference lying in the fact that these alleged nose-studs are smaller in size.

The scholar is, however, not sure of his point,[2] and the recent publication on the further excavations in Mohenjo-daro shows that he also could not find any corroborative evidence from the human figures found from any of the aforesaid sites. Women among most of the primitive races in India are, however, seen to have the habit of wearing more than one nose-ornament even now, and Mr. Mackay, probably considering the fact that the civilization at Mohenjo-daro was that of a primitive people, thinks that the habit of wearing nose-ornaments was in vogue in Mohenjo-daro too.[3] On this ground he still identifies a number of objects found in Mohenjo-daro as nose-studs.[4]

The human figures found from the extensive sites of Mohenjo-daro, made of metal, terracotta, or stone, have got their noses very carefully defined and in case of a fair majority, these have survived with little damage. A careful study of these, however, does not disclose any trace of ornamentation on the nose at all. There is however no specific reason to believe that some particular circumstance caused the artist in Mohenjo-daro to conceal the nose-ornaments, if these were actually in use, because he did not show any lack of energy to show all other possible sort of ornaments, which the corroborative finds of actual things would suggest, were really in use.

The theory on which Mr. Mackay suggests to base his argument in favour of his identification does not appear anything more substantial than mere assumption, and in the absence of any other stronger evidence, his identification cannot be taken as final.

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI.

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1 Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, p. 528.
2 Mackay, Further Excavations in Mohenjo-daro, p. 532.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 531-32.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 532.

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REVIEWS

THE EMPIRE IN INDIA, by Evans Bell; edited with Introduction and Notes by Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University; G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1935; pp. 79+455+xlvi; price Rs. 5 net.

The book under review is a collection of eighteen interesting and instructive letters written by Bell from Madras and other places, between April, 1861 and December, 1863, shortly after the 'great Indian rebellion' of 1857-58. The letters deal with the political problems of the period. Bell's strong, but sober, criticism of Lord Dalhousie's policy, his judicious outlook regarding the Indigo question and his sympathetic attitude towards the right of adoption and the Indian princes are the interesting features of these letters. The book is not only interesting to the ordinary reader, but has a special value to the historians as the letters embodied in it may be regarded as contemporary documents.

Prof. Srinivasachari should be congratulated for bringing out this excellent edition of Bell's book. Many of his footnotes bear testimony to his erudition. The book will doubtlessly be well received by all educated men of India and especially by those interested in the history of India in the sixth decade of the nineteenth century.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

DICTIONARY OF PĀLI PROPER NAMES (Indian Texts Series) by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, M.A., Ph.D., Vol. II, N-H, published for the Government of India, by John Murray, Albemarle St., W. 1, London, 1938.

In January 1938 issue of the Indian Culture, I had the pleasure of reviewing the first part of the above book. Now I have to perform the most unpleasant task of a reviewer to adjudicate upon its merits and demerits. The work under review evinces a great labour bestowed upon it by its erudite compiler. He has done justice to many topics he has treated of, but it should have been done with as much precision as possible. In some places the author had to go very hurriedly as it is evident that he had no time to consult the titles of some suttas and books, e.g., in p. 415, '*Law : Ancient Geography of India, p.* 19' should be '*Law : Geography of Early Buddhism, p.* 19; in p. 1056, *Uddāna* should be *Udāna*; in p. 62 there is no reference at all to the *Sāmagāma Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and to the *Pāṭika Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* as to the fact that *Niganṭha Nāthaputta* predeceased Buddha by a few years. The author ought to have pointed out on the authority of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 119, that according to *Niganṭha Nāthaputta*, the soul having no form is conscious (*arūpī attā saññī*); in p. 64, the author has failed to draw the readers' attention to the fact that the *Niganṭhas* are called recluses of the red class (*lohitābhijāti*) and that they are also known as those wearing only one garment (*ekasāṭakā*) (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, p. 383); in p. 159, the author has not mentioned the two classes of *paribbājakas, aññatitthiya* and *brāhmaṇa* (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, p. 35; I, p. 157). In p. 182, there ought to have been a comparison between the Pāli and Tibetan *Pātimokkha*.

A reviewer's duty should be to point out any omission and to bring forth new information unnoticed by the author. A mere statement, not fully documented,

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does not serve any useful purpose, as is generally found in reviews. Dogmatic assertions or hasty conclusions on the part of a reviewer are not at all desirable. Here some of the important omissions have been noted and new materials, under different heads, unnoticed by the author, have been collected.

Omissions:—

(1) *Nāga* (*Nāgakesara*), mentioned in the *Apadāna*, p. 15, is *Mesua ferrea*, elegant tree, flowering time, beginning of hot season, delightfully fragrant.

(2) *Nādikā* mentioned as a lake in the *Papañcasūdanī*, II, 235.

(3) *Nīpa* (*Kadamba*)—flowering time, hot season.

(4) *Nīlakahāpana* mentioned as a coin in the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sinhalese Ed., Vol. I, p. 172, vide also Buddhistic Studies, ed., by B. C. Law, pp. 384-385).

(5) *Nepatikavaṇṇanā* is a work on Pāli indeclinable participles.

(6) *Pañcagati-dīpana*, a Pāli work written in 114 stanzas dealing with different hells and sufferings in hells, etc.

(7) *Paṭibhānakūṭa*. It was a peak with a fearful precipice (*subhayānako papāto*) in the neighbourhood of *Gijjhakūṭa* (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*, V, p. 448). According to Buddhaghosa, it was only a boundary rock which appeared like a large mountain (*Sāratthapakāsinī*, Siamese Ed., Vol. III, p. 413:—*paṭibhānakūṭoti eko mahanto pabbato sadiso moriyādā pāsāṇo*).

(8) *Pāda*—mentioned in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, II, p. 132 as a coin.

(9) *Palāsa* (*Butea frondasa*)—flowering time, March-April, flowers beautiful, deep red, shaded with orange and silver coloured down.

(10) *Pāṭali* (*Pārul*)—*Bignonia Suaveolens*, a middle sized tree, flowering time hot season, exquisitely fragrant.

(11) *Pāṭhīna* (Jātaka No. 451)—a kind of fish known as *Silurus Boalis*.

(12) *Pāvusa*—a kind of fish.

(13) *Pāsāṇakathūpa*—It was situated on the south-east quarter of *Rājagṛha*—(*Rājagahassa pācīna-dakkhiṇa-disā-bhāge-Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Vol. II, p. 611).

(14) *Punnāga* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), flowers pure white, fragrant; flowering most part of the year.

(15) *Pokkharasātakā*—a species of crane (*Ardea Siberica*).

(16) *Bāhitika Sutta* (*Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 112–117). As to its contents vide my *History of Pāli Lit.*, I, p. 145.

(17) *Maggurā*—a kind of fish. Indian *Māgura* found in ponds, *bhills* and *khals*.

(18) *Mañjusaṭīkāvyākhyā* is a guide to the grammar of *Kaccāyana*.

(19) *Mañjeṭṭhī*—is a coin mentioned in the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, Burmese Ed., p. 36, published by the Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, vide B. C. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 440 foll.

(20) *Madhuka* (*Bassia latifolia*)—mentioned in the *Apadāna*; a middle sized tree, flowers in March and April.

(21) *Maynā*—(*Jat.* No. 546)—a very intelligent and useful bird. It lives in a mountain cave and rests on pepul trees. 'Mine-mine', the cries they give.

(22) *Malayālakā*—mentioned in the *Apadāna* as the people inhabiting the Malayan region.

(23) *Mātuluṅga* (*Citrus medica—citron*) mentioned in the *Apadāna*.

(24) *Māsaka* (*Visayha Jātaka, Jātaka*, III)—a coin which was in use in the sixth century B.C.

(25) *Munjarohita* (*Cyprinus Rohita*)—a kind of fresh water fish. *Muñjarohita* and *Rohicca* are identical. It is called *Ruhi* fish in Bengal. (Vide *Cakka-vāka Jāt.* *Jāt.* No. 451).

(26) *Yonaloka* mentioned in the *Thūpavaṃsa*.

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(27) *Ratanapañcika Ṭīkā* was written by *Sāriputta* on the *Candravyākaraṇa.*

(28) *Ravihaṃsā*—a kind of swan mentioned in the *Apadāna.*

(29) *Vakula* (*Mimusops elengi*)—a kind of white flower which is fragrant, mentioned in the *Apadāna.*

(30) *Vaṭṭapotaka* mentioned in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (p. 98; Cf. also *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka,* I, 212-215).

(31) *Vaḍḍhakigāma* mentioned in the *Alīnacitta Jātaka,* II, a village of carpenters. It is curious to note that the people following the same occupation used to live together and the locality in which they resided, was named after the vocation of its people.

(32) *Vālaja*—a kind of fish mentioned in the *Apadāna.*

(33) *Velavakā* mentioned in the *Apadāna* as a tribe.

(34) *Vohāra*—a kind of monster fish mentioned in the *Jātaka* No. 529.

(35) *Saṅkula*—a kind of fish mentioned in the *Apadāna.*

(36) *Satapatta*—woodpecker. It is a mentioned in *Jātaka* No. 206, perching on the tree-top. It is a kind of crane.

(37) *Sattussadam nirayaṁ*—It is one of the hells, mentioned in the Buddhist literature, vide my *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective,* for details.

(38) *Saddakalika* is a Pāli Grammar.

(39) *Savarā*—mentioned in the *Apadāna* as a non-Aryan tribe dwelling somewhere in the *Dakkhiṇāpatha.*

(40) *Salala* (*Pinus Devadara*) Probably a pine tree.

(41) *Sālika*—is known as *Sālika* bird in Bengal.

Suka-Sārī (parrot)—Parrots fly with great swiftness. When they become old, it is the eye that weakens first. Their former habitat was on the seaward side of the Himalayas (*Jāt.* No. 255). A well-grown parrot with perfectly-formed limbs was given honey and parched corn to eat and sugar-water to drink (*Jāt.* No. 329).

(42) *Simula* (*Bombax Malabaricum*)—a Ṛg-vedic plant, flowering time, end of winter, flowers very large, bright red.

(43) *Sindhuvanta* (*Nisindā—Vitex negunda*), a medicinal plant, flowers all the year round.

(44) *Sīmālaṅkārappakaraṇa* is an earlier authoritative text bearing upon the subject of *sīmā* or sanctified boundary of the Buddhist ecclesiastical order. Most probably it is not the same work as the *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha.*

(45) *Sūci Jātaka,* (*Jātaka,* Vol. III) is important in studying the social condition of ancient India in the sixth century B.C.

(46) *Suddakā* mentioned in the *Apadāna* as identical with the *Sūdras* of the *Mahābhārata* known as *Oxydrakai* to Alexander's historians. Their capital was *Uch* (*Kutch*).

(47) *Sudhiramukhamaṇḍana* is a work on *samāsa* of Pāli compound nouns written by *Attaragāmavandararājaguru.*

(48) *Susandhikappa,* was the first Pāli grammar written by *Kaccāyana.*

(49) *Sedamocakagāthā* included in the *Uttaraviniccaya kathā* under the *bhikkuṇīvibhaṅga.*

(50) *Senaka* (Hawk)—known as falcons fierce in their nature. They generally frequent the slaughter-house.

New Materials:

Nālakagāma (p. 55)—It was situated in the eastern part of *Magadha* according to the *Vimānavatthu Commentary* (p. 163). According to the *Mahāsudassana Jātaka* (*Jātaka,* I, 391), *Sāriputta* died at *Vaṅka.*

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Pāṭaligāma (p. 178)—It was here that the Buddha instructed and gladdened the Bhikkhus with a religious discourse on *Nirvāṇa* (*Udāna*, Ch. VIII, pp. 80–93).

Pāsāṇaka Cetiya (p. 196)—It was the place where the Buddha delivered the *Pārāyaṇa* discourses[1] now embodied in the concluding book of the *Sutta Nipāta*.[2] It was situated in *Magadhakhetta*, the religious area of *Magadha* (*Sutta Nipāta Commentary*, p. 583—*Magadhakhette pana tesaṃ Pāsāṇaka cetiyaṃ*).

Pipphaliguhā (p. 204)—It was called *pippali* or *pipphali* because it was marked by a pippali or pipphali tree which stood beside it. (*Udānavaṇṇanā*, Siamese Ed., p. 77—*Tassa kira guhāya dvārasamīpe ekó pipphali rukkho abhosi, tena so pippali guhā ti paññāyittha*). According to some later Pāli accounts, the cave was used by the great Thera *Mahākassapa* for meditation only (*Dhammapada Commentary*, II, pp. 19–21).

Pubbārāma (p. 236)—The materials used for the erection were both wood and stone (*rukkha* and *pāsāṇa*). The monastery stood up as a magnificent two storied building with 500 rooms on the ground floor and 500 rooms on the upper floor. It has traditionally been known as *Pubbārāma Migāramātupāsāda* (*Dhammapada Commentary*, I. p. 414—*Heṭṭhābhūmiyaṃ pañca gabbhasatāni uparibhūmiyaṃ pañca gabbhasatāni gabbhasahassapaṭimaṇḍito pāsādo ahosi*).

Petavatthu (p. 244)—Author's details are very meagre. The expressed purpose of the book as a whole as stated in the very first *vatthu* is to establish the superior merit of making gifts to the Buddhist holy order and their efficacy as a means of releasing the pretas from their state of woe. A number of *vatthus are* devised to restrain men and women from evil thought, evil speech and evil action towards the *religieux* in general and the Buddhist recluses in particular as well as to encourage them in showing a good mind, uttering a good word and doing service to all holy men. The *vatthus* are manipulated and placed in groups and sections, harping on the same tune and emphasizing the good effect of merits, earned by liberality and so forth to all *religieux*, detailing the items of gift and delineating the different modes of honouring and worshipping them. (Cf. my *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, published by Luzac & Co. 2nd Ed., pp. 25-26 and *History of Pali Literature*, pp. 262 foll.).

Pokkharasāti or *Pokkharasādi* (p. 246)—The Pali stock list of eminent kosalan brahmins includes the name of *Pokkharasāti* who was established in a distant locality having control over the revenue, judicial and civil administration of his affairs as was determined by the terms of the royal grants and religious endowments (rañña dinnaṁ brahmadeyyam, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 246). He was honoured as a distinguished teacher of the age, well-versed in the four *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Itihasa* and sciences useful to the people. (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 247–8).

Bārāṇasī (p. 247)—Kasi cloths, very fine garments (*Jātaka*, V, p. 377) and ivory works (*Jātaka*, II, p. 197) were manufactured in Benares. Stone-cutters were available (*Jātaka*, I, 478); carpenters capable of making chairs, beds, etc. (*Jātaka*, IV, p. 159), could make mechanical wooden birds (*Sutta Nipāta Commentary*, II, 575). There were traders in costly wares (*Jātaka*, I, 98 foll). Benares merchants used to go about hawking goods which donkeys carried for them (*Jātaka*, II, p. 109). There were elephant-trainers skilled in the art of managing elephants (*Jātaka*, II, p. 221). Horse dealers from northern districts used to bring horses to Benares for sale (*Jātaka*, II, p. 287). Corn merchants (*Jātaka*, III, p. 198); traders in sandalwood (*Sutta Nipāta Commentary*, II, 523 foll) and in red cloth (*Dhammapada Commentary*, III, p. 429) were available in this town. Snake charmers (*Jātaka*, III,

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[1] *Commentary on the Cullaniddesa*, p. 270, Siamese Ed.—Pāsānaka cetiyeti pāsānapiṭṭhe Pārāyaṇa Suttanta desitaṭṭhāne.

[2] *Sutta Nipāta*, 218 foll.

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p. 198) could be found here. A great merchant of Benares named *Visayha* had alms-halls built at the four city gates, in the heart of the city, and at the door of his own house. He distributed alms at the six points and every day six hundred thousand men went there to beg (*Jātaka*, III, p. 129). Prince Janasandha had six almonries built in Benares (*Jātaka*, IV, p. 176).

Buddhavaṁsa (p. 310)—The last six Buddhas mentioned in this text appear in the Mahāpadāna Suttanta and the Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikaya. This text takes no notice of Metteya, the future Buddha. References to some Buddhas are found in some of the inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. attached to the Barhut Sculptures representing the Bo-trees. For further details see the Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Pt. III, Intro. *Buddhavaṁsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, translated into English by B. C. Law, 1938.

Bhaddavatikā (p. 351)—The town of *Bhaddavatikā* lay on the way from the Pārileyyaka forest to Śrāvastī (*Jātaka*, I, p. 360).

Makkhali Gosāla (p. 398)—Judging from the line of thought followed by *Makkhali Gosāla* it seems that he was a fatalist or determinist rather than a propounder of the doctrine of chance. Everything was unalterably fixed. This was the fundamental thesis of *Makkhali Gosāla* as clearly explained in Jaina *Bhagavatī*. According to *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 160–165, Gosāla's theory is that things happen exactly as they are to happen, that which is not to happen does not happen, It is clear, therefore, that *Gosāla* maintains that everything happens according to the unalterable laws of nature. That is to say, he banishes chance from the whole of experience. He seeks to explain things in the light of these three principles, (1) Fate, (2) Species, and (3) Nature. Gosāla's theory is one of evolution of individual things by natural transformation, (vide my *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 38 foll.).

Magadha (p. 402)—Jīvaka was successful in operating on the fistula of King *Bimbisāra* of *Magadha* and this won for him the post of royal physician. He was afterwards appointed by the King physician to the Buddha. Magadha was badly attacked by five kinds of diseases, leprosy, dry leprosy, goitre, consumption and epilepsy, and Jīvaka had to treat the bhikkhu patients only suffering from these diseases (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, p. 71). *Magadha* was famous for conch shells (*Jātaka*, Fousboll, VI, p. 465). White elephants are said to have been used by the royal family of Magadha (*Jātaka*, I, p. 444). Agriculture was prosperous and there were some brahmins who used to cultivate lands themselves in Magadha (*Jātaka*, IV, pp. 276-7).

Madhura Sutta (p. 437)—References given by the author are incomplete (Cf. Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya, I, 120, Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, 163, Vāseṭṭha Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta and Brāhmaṇa Saṁyutta of the Saṁyutta Nikāya. The author has failed to make it clear that this sutta deals with caste system under five heads. It teaches that caste cannot ensure material success in life, cannot save the wicked from punishment hereafter, cannot debar the good from bliss hereafter, cannot shield the evil-doers from criminal law, and cannot affect the uniform veneration extended to the monk, whether he be sprung from the highest or the lowest of the four castes. In all these important respects, the four castes are equal. For further discussions, vide my *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 22-23.

Mahātittha (495)—is identical with modern Mantola opposite the island of Manaar.

Mahāvana (555)—outside the town of Vaiśālī lying in one stretch up to the Himalayas, there is a natural forest which on account of the large area covered by it is called the Mahāvana (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 309—'*Bahi nagare Himavantena saddhiṁ ekā baddhaṁ hutvā ṭhitaṁ sayaṁjātavanaṁ atthi. Yam mahanta-bhāvena mahāvanaṁ ti vuccati*').

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Rathavinīta Sutta (p. 715)—It ought to have been noticed by the author that an elaborate treatment of the topics suggested in the question of Upatissa is found in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* or Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra*.

Vaṅga (p. 802)—The author is wrong in identifying *Vaṅga* with modern Bengal. It is identical with modern Eastern Bengal and it did not stand as a name for the entire province as it does now.

Vanapattha Sutta (p. 827)—The author ought to have pointed out that this sutta exemplifies the Vinaya rules, e.g., a monk's needs in the matter of clothing, food, bed and medicaments.

Varadhara (p. 835)—The author has omitted to mention the subject of his discussion with the Buddha. He was instructed by the Buddha in four points relating to his doctrine (*Cattāri dhammapadāni*).

Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa (p. 888)—The object of this book is to formulate the theories and practical mechanism of intellectual and moral progress scattered throughout the Piṭakas. This book generally deals with the different categories and formulas treated of in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. It has many of the repetitions of the chapters of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* but the method followed in this book and the matter contained in it are found to be almost different from those of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. For further details not found in the dictionary, vide my *History of Pāli Literature*, pp. 313 foll.

Vimānavatthu (p. 892)—This work lays a great stress on individual morality and duty and clearly shows the effect of *karma*. The highest of pleasures that the heavens can bestow has a limit according to the Buddhists. They can never bring about a final release from evil and hence the experiences in heaven, though pleasurable, are evils to be guarded against—the more so on account of their luring attractiveness. The author has failed to point out what Rhys Davids has said that the greater part of these books composed according to a set pattern is devoid of style, and the collection is altogether of an evidently later date than the bulk of the books included in the appendix (*Buddhism—its History and Literature*, American Lectures, p. 77. Cf. my *History of Pāli Literature*, p. 261).

Vekhanassa (pp. 914-5)—The subject of discussion of this wanderer was paramavaṇṇo attā (soul in its height of purity). The author has not mentioned this point.

Saṅgīti Sutta (p. 988)—The author has omitted to mention a very important fact that this sutta expressly recognizes *sammā-ñāṇa* or right knowledge or *sammā-vimutti* or right emancipation (*Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 271) as the two additional factors of the Noble Eightfold Path. It must be borne in mind that the Noble Eightfold Path leaves out these two important factors without which the Buddhist system of thought is incomplete.

Sukhavagga—It is regrettable that in a dictionary like this, parallel references are wanting and the idea of the *vagga* is not given at all. Parallel references are *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 508, 257; *Jātaka*, III, 196. The idea of this vagga is that health, is the greatest of gifts, contentedness, the best of riches, trust, the best of relationship, and *nirvāṇa*, the highest happiness. And as for other parallel references, vide my *History of Pāli Literature* (p. 207 f.n.). Likewise in the *Piyavagga* and *Paṇḍitavagga* the author has not mentioned parallel references.

The details of the vaggas of the *Dhammapada* are wanting in the dictionary as well as the parallel references.

Niddesa (p. 74)—The details of this book are not noticed in this dictionary, but they are all given in my book, *History of Pāli Literature*, pp. 278 ff.

The dictionary under review would have been more useful if the author had supplied all the available editions and manuscripts of the books of the Pāli Canon. The style and language of the books has been avoided by the author, e.g., the style

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of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, which is very simple, although the work belongs to the literature of the Abhidhamma type. The ideas are classified in outline and in some places they are overloaded with synonyms, and in some places it is difficult to find out the real meaning, but the style is not so difficult as that of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* or *Vibhaṅga*. There are some misprints (see pp. 201, 573, 827 and 1300)[1] which do not at all affect the merits of the book under review. I have pointed out some of the materials unnoticed by the author, but there are many more which should be incorporated in the second edition of this Dictionary which is, on the whole, very useful. We must be grateful to Dr. Edward Muller who was the first to deal with *Pali Proper Names* in the Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1888, pp. 1–107. Dr. Malalasekera came next to handle the same subject in a more comprehensive manner. I must congratulate the author on the performance of a Herculean task which is no doubt very praiseworthy.

B. C. Law.

HUMĀYŪN BĀDSHĀH, by S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History, Lucknow University, with an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross; published by Oxford University Press, 1938; pages ix+256+xviii; price Rs.8.

A carefully written monograph on the career of Humāyūn, the unfortunate successor of Bābur on the throne of Mughal India, was a long-felt want. Dr. Banerji's work, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, should therefore be welcomed by all lovers of the medieval history of India. Humāyūn's life may be conveniently divided into four sections: (1) early life of the prince up to his accession to the throne; (2) his struggle with Bahādūr Shāh of Gujarāt; (3) his struggle with Shīr Khān and the Afghāns; and (4) the loss of his throne and its recovery. The first three of these sections, especially Humāyūn's struggles with Bahādūr Shāh and Shīr Khān, have been dealt with in the book under review. The present volume practically ends with the unfortunate battle of Qanauj (May 17, 1540 A.D.) in which Humāyūn was disastrously defeated by Shīr and had to flee towards the west. We eagerly wait for the second part of the work in which, we are told (p. 256), the rest of Humāyūn's life will be dealt with.

On the whole, Dr. Banerji has performed his task skilfully and satisfactorily. The chapters dealing with Humāyūn's struggles in the east and west of his kingdom are really interesting. The author has carefully examined every existing theory he is going to reject (pp. 24ff.; 44ff.; etc.). Though we may not always agree with him, his arguments are generally judicious. Some points, however, appear to have been neglected; *e.g.* the fact that Humāyūn was made governor of Badakshān after Khān Mīrzā's death in 1520 A.D. Dr. Banerji is sometimes, moreover, not quite up-to-date. His notes on the early history of Kāliñjar (p. 35), Gujarāt (p. 75), etc., are unsatisfactory. There was no Chandel king named Nanda. Sulṭān Maḥmūd's Chandel contemporaries were kings Gaṇḍa and Vidyādhara. So, نندا (*nandā*) of the Muslims must be a mistake for either گندا (*gandā*=*Gaṇḍa*) or بیدا (*bīdā*=Vidhyā[dhara]).

The system of transliteration followed by Dr. Banerji is not scientific. The letters *tey* and *toey* have both been represented by *t*; *sey*, *sin* and *sad* by *s*; *zal* and *zad* by *z*; and so, from his transliteration we cannot know the exact spelling of a word. It would, further, have been a relief to the ordinary readers of Dr. Banerji's work, had he given the Persian passages (especially small passages like *nah shahr*

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[1] *Mahāsuññata* and not *Mahāsuññatā Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi* and not *Piṇḍapātapārisuddha*, *Steadfastness* and not *stedfastness*, *Sotāpatti saṁyutta* and not *sotāpanna saṁyutta*, *S.V. 342-413* and not *S.V. 342-60*, etc.

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ṣafar būd, p. 144; *al-fīl*, p. 149; etc.) quoted in the body of the book in Roman script.

The book contains an exhaustive Index, two pictures, and several sketch-plans; but a general map is wanted. We have little doubt that Dr. Banerji's useful work will be favourably received by all students of Mughal history.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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KRAMADĪŚVARA AND HIS SCHOOL OF GRAMMAR

By NALINI NATH DASGUPTA

Of the ten principal schools of grammar in Sanskrit, Bengal gave rise to two, *Cândra* and *Jaumara*. The Cândra school, which is now defunct in India proper, was originated by the grammar of Cândragômin of Varêndra sometime about the middle of the seventh century A.D.[1], and a considerable time did intervene till the other attempt was made in Bengal to methodize the grammatical material, and that is represented by the *Saṁkṣiptasâra* grammar of Kramadîśvara. If Cândragômin's grammar excludes, naturally enough, all rules bearing upon Vêdic dialects, Kramadîśvara's text, on the other hand, is not only a grammar for classical Sanskrit, but constitutes also to be a guide for archaic Vêdic forms. Although it is called *Saṁkṣipta* or *concise*, its bulk is second only to Pâṇini's *Aṣṭâdhyâyî*, and it does not deserve to be classed with Râmacandra's *Prakriyâ-kaumudî* or Bhaṭṭôji-Dîkṣita's *Siddhânta-kaumudî*, which are merely abridgements of the *Aṣṭâdhyâyî*. Pâṇini's grammar, however, shared with the *Kâtantra* grammar of Śarvavarman in exerting a considerable amount of influence on that of Kramadîśvara, notwithstanding it adopts a different method of collocation and arrangement. It is divided into eight chapters (*pâdas*), of which the first seven deal with *sandhi, tiṁanta, kṛdanta, taddhita, kâraka, subanta* and *samâsa* respectively, while the last chapter treats of *Prâkṛta* or vernacular dialects as also *chandaḥ* (prosody) and *alaṁkâra* (rhetoric). The inclusion of the rules on *Prâkṛta* languages within the scope of Sanskrit grammar is also found in Hêmacandra's *Śabdânuśâsana* (1088–1172 A.D.).

Kramadîśvara is often styled as '*vâdîndracakra-cûḍâmaṇi*', which is translated as 'crest-jewel of the circle of great disputants'. It is not, however, true to say, 'Nothing is known of Kramadîśvara's parentage and nativity'.[2] At the end of the eighth *pâda* of his grammar occurs a verse in which the author gives a personal account of his:

'*Vidyâ-tapohrthî vâdîndra Pûrva-grâmî dvijaḥ kaviḥ |*
Cakrapâṇi-sutô jyayân naptâsau Śrîpateḥ kṛtî ||'[3]

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[1] Cf. *Bhâratavarṣa* (Bengali journal), Kârttika, 1340 B.S., p. 742.

[2] *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1915, p. 108.

[3] *Saṁkṣipta-sâra-Vyâkaraṇaṁ*, ed. Gurunâth Vidyânidhi Bhaṭṭâcâryya, Calcutta, Saka 1833 (A.D. 1911), p. 524.

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So he was a learned man, a disputant (logician), a twice-born and a poet, and he belonged to Pûrva-grâma, while his father was one Cakrapâṇi and grandfather one Śrîpati. The identification of his father, Cakrapâṇi, with the physician Cakrapâṇi-datta,[1] distinctly said to be of the *Lodhravalî* family, is idle as much as the identification of his grandfather, Śrîpati, with the Śrîpati-datta who wrote a supplement to the *Kâtantra*.[2] There is also a sharp division of opinion as to which part of Bengal he belonged to. Explaining the word *Pûrva-grâma* as a village (*grâma*) in East (*pûrva*) Bengal, the people of East Bengal regard Kramadîśvara as to have hailed from their province, while the fact that the circulation of this grammar is confined to West Bengal is mainly responsible for that he is sometimes believed to belong to West Bengal.[3] We have, however, the phrase '*Pûrva-grâmi-kula-Kalânidhi*' applied to a commentator of this school, Nara-Nârâyaṇa Nyâyapañcânana,[4] which clearly sets forth that *Pûrvagrâma* must have been the distinctive name of a particular village or locality. According to a certain lexicographer,[5] as we are told, Kramadîśvara was a resident of Râḍha (West Bengal), and we have now positive epigraphical evidence that Pûrvagrâma was a village in *Dakṣiṇa*-Râḍha (South Râḍha). Pûrvagrâma is celebrated in the Malakâpuram Stone Pillar inscription (1262 A.D.) of the time of the Kâkatîya queen, Rudradêvî, as the native place of the distinguished Śaiva pontiff, Viśvêśvara-Śambhu, and is described as to have been situated in 'the Râḍha division of Gauḍa', as also in 'Dakṣiṇa-Râḍha in Gauḍa'.[6] The wide circulation of a certain work in a particular region may, therefore, it is important to note, sometimes constitute a ground to surmise, in the absence of first-hand proof, that its author belonged to that region.

Intimately connected with the grammar of Kramadîśvara is the name of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* Jumar-Nandin, from whom this system of grammar has derived the name of the *Jaumara* school. He applied his scholarship not only to bring the grammar to its perfection, but also to write *vṛttis* or explications of the text, and to compile

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1 *Jâti-tattva-vâridhi*, by Umesh Chandra Gupta, Calcutta, 1902, p. 237.

2 *Saṁkṣipta-sâra-Vyâkaraṇaṁ, op. cit.*, Preface, p. 3.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Cf. Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part II, p. 221, No. 830.

5 Cf. *Saṁkṣipta-sâra-Vyâkaraṇaṁ, op. cit.*, Preface, p. 2.

6 Cf. *Epigraphist's Report*, 1917, Madras Govt., No. 1035, pp. 122; *Mânasî-ô-Marmavâṇî* (Bengali journal), *Âśvina*, 1327 B.S., p. 193; *Local Government in Ancient India*, by Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Oxford, 1919, pp. 195-196; *Ancient Karṇâṭaka*, by Dr. B. A. Saletore, Vol. I, Poona, 1936, p. 394; *Calcutta Review*, June, 1938, p. 324, where Dr. D. C. Sircar rightly observes that the reading *Cûrvyagrâma* at one place of the inscription is only a scribal mistake for *Pûrvagrâma*.

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a supplement to the same. His *vṛtti* [1] is entitled *Rasavatî*, whence the school also got the designation of *Râsavata*, and he himself that of *Rasavaj*-Jumara, precisely the designation under which he is quoted by Râyamukuṭa [2] in his commentary on the *Amara-kôṣa*, written in 1431 A.D. Jumara-Nandin, therefore, dates from before the 15th Century. He is also the author of the *Dhâtu-pârâyaṇa*, embodying the classification and conjunction of roots, and meant to serve as an appendix to the grammar. It is not Kramadîśvara, as was believed by the late Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra [3] or his *Paṇḍita*, but Jumara-Nandin, whom the students of the *Mugdhabôdha* ridicule as to have been a weaver by caste.

In furtherance of the school was, again, written a commentary on all the eight chapters of Kramadîśvara's grammar by Gôyîcandra, who may really have been of Bengal extraction.[4] The authenticity of that he commented upon the eighth chapter is, as Mlle. L. Nitti-Dolci has well and conclusively shown, not to be suspected.[5] To his commentary were added two books on the *Prakîrṇa-vṛtti* or miscellaneous subjects, and *Uṇâdis* by Gôyîcandra, who, moreover, in a list collected 127 *Paribhâṣâ* maxims of ancient grammarians for a right comprehension of the aphorisms of the *Saṁkṣipta-sâra*. One of the sub-commentators of Gôyîcandra was Vaṁśîvadana, son of Vaśiṣṭha and Râyamatî, a MS. of whose sub-commentary bears, in words, the date *Sakâbdeh=nala-vêda-mitravimitê*, which has been worked out as Śaka 1243 (A.D. 1321).[6] If the numerical equivalent of the date, as it is, has been correctly made out and be tenable, Vaṁśîvadana has to be placed before 1300 A.D., and Gôyîcandra goes still earlier. Tradition has it that Gôyîcandra was a contemporary of Jumara-Nandin,[7] but there is no genuine evidence to corroborate it. There is, however, a MS. of the commentary of Gôyîcandra, which reads at the end: *iti autthâsanika-śrî-Gôyîcandra-Kṛtâyâṁ Śrîmaj=Jumara-Nandi-pariśôdhitâyâṁ Sandhi-Vṛtti-ṭîkâ*

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[1] See *Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanscrits et Pâlis, de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, by A. Cabaton, 1907-8, Paris, p. 95, where a MS. of the *Rasavatî-vṛtti* is wrongly ascribed to Kramadîśvara himself.

[2] Cf. *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency*, for 1883-84, Bhandarkar, p. 63.

[3] *Des. Cat. of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, by R. L. Mitra, Part I (Grammar), Calcutta, 1877, p. 135.

[4] A legendary account of him is published in the *Pravâsî* (Bengali), 1330 B.S. p. 661.

[5] *Les Grammairiens Prakrits*, Paris, 1938, pp. 131-132.

[6] *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Second Series, by H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1907, No. 319, pp. 208-209.

[7] *Saṁkṣipta-sâra-Vyâkaraṇaṁ, op. cit.*, Preface, p. 5.

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samâpta.[1] If we correct the *Kṛtâyâṁ* and *pariśôdhitâyâṁ* of this corrupt colophon as *kṛtâ* and *pariśôdhitâ*, it would give rise to the presumption that Gôyîcandra was but a contemporary of Jumara-Nandin, who corrected his *ṭîkâ*. But this defective reading of one single MS. cannot decide such an important issue. As Vaṁśîvadana appears to date from before 1300 A.D., we may probably without any great risk of error place Jumara-Nandin in the twelfth century A.D., if not earlier. We have also no precise knowledge of where Jumara-Nandin ruled over, but we may assume that he was a king in Râḍha, the home of the *Saṁkṣipta-sâra*, and if so, his imperial title *Mahârâjâdhirâja* is important, inasmuch as it almost precludes us from supposing the existence of a mighty Hindu monarch in West Bengal in the thirteenth century, when, after 1199 A.D. the Muhammadans had occupied this part of the country. Jumara-Nandin thus might not improbably have been a king in South Râḍha during the Sêna supremacy in Bengal, just as the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Dômmanapâla,[2] who had also, we must agree with Dr. D. C. Sircar,[3] the title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, had been, in 1196 A.D., in the Lower Bengal region. According to the same tradition, Jumara-Nandin was also a contemporary of Kramadîśvara,[4] but the same difficulty of accepting the correctness of the tradition, standing alone, confronts us. Nevertheless, the fact that the school derived its name from the commentator before it could go after the name of the grammarian himself probably suggests that they were not removed from each other by any great length of time. This incertitude about the positive date of Kramadîśvara renders it impossible to decide this day if the credit of first incorporating the rules of *Prâkṛta* into Sanskrit grammar goes to him or to Hêmacandra, but nobody will be surprised if substantial evidences in favour of the priority of Kramadîśvara be forthcoming sooner or later.[5]

A striking feature of Kramadîśvara's grammar is that it often takes its illustrative examples from the *Bhaṭṭi-kâvya*, in which respect it resembles Bhartṛhari's *Dîpikâ* on Patañjali's *Mahâbhâṣya*. And, again, Nara-Nârâyaṇa Nyâyapañcânana, also a resident of Pûrva-grâma, wrote a commentory on the *Bhaṭṭi-kâvya*, and looked into the

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[1] Eggeling, *op. cit.*, p. 218, No. 816.

[2] *A dated copper-plate from Sundarbans*, edited by Dr. B. C. Sen and Mr. D. P. Ghosh in *IHQ.*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 321f.

[3] *IC.*, Vol. I, p. 680.

[4] *Saṁkṣipta-sâra-Vyâkaraṇaṁ*, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. 4.

[5] Cf. *Les Grammairiens Prakrits*, by Mlle. L. Nitti-Dolci, p. 130, where she also maintains that the date of Kramadîśvara between those of Hêmacandra (1088–1172) and Vopadeva (13th Century) is only provisionally acceptable.

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Saṁkṣipta-sâra for explaining the grammatical peculiarities of the poem.[1]

Nara-Nârâyaṇa Nyâyapañcânana, who was the son of (Bânêśvara) Vidyâvinôda, wrote also an exposition, under the title of *Vyâkaran-dîpikâ*, of Gôyîcandra's *Saṁkṣipta-sâra-ṭîkâ*, as also a commentary on the *Gaṇas* of the *Saṁkṣipta-sâra*.[2] The names of other sub-commentators of this school include those of Abhirâma Vidyâlaṁkâra Bhaṭṭâcâryya of the Vandyaghaṭîya (Banerji) family Gayaghaḍa, Gôpâla Cakravarttî of the same family, Candraśêkhara Vidyâlaṁkâra,[3] Harirâma Vâcaspati,[4] Haragôvinda Vâcaspati,[5] Nṛsiṁha Tarkapañcânana, son of Kuśala Tarkabhûṣaṇa and a descendant of Caṇḍîdâsa Bhaṭṭâcâryya Cuḍâmaṇi author of a commentary on the *Kâvya-prakâśa* of Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa,[6] Râdhâkṛṣṇa Śarman,[7] Pîtâmbara Śarman,[8] Mahêśa Pañcânana, son of Vidyârṇava,[9] Raghuvîra Vandyôpâdhyâya,[10] Gaura-Môhana Bhaṭṭa,[11] and Râmêśvara Tarkâlaṁkâra,[12] and most of these belonged to a period between the 16th and 18th century.

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1 *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Mitra, IV, p. 209.
2 Eggeling, *op. cit.*, p. 221, No. 830 and p. 224, No. 838.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 222, No. 833.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*, p. 224, No. 837.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 225, No. 839.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 227, No. 840.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 229, No. 846.
9 *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, Second Series, H. P. Śâstrî, Vol. II, Preface, p. xi and No. 231, p. 207.
10 *Ibid.*, No. 39, pp. 29-30.
11 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 229.
12 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 322.

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A FEW REMARKS ON INDIAN CULTURE IV (pp. 387ff.)

By PAUL THIEME

In a paper styled—more pointedly than to the point—'Thieme and Pāṇini' and published in *Ind. Cult.*, IV, pp. 387ff., Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh has taken up afresh the discussion of certain rules of Pāṇini's grammar, on which I have on two occasions[1] voiced an opinion disagreeing from his as laid down in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, pp. 665ff. I have, in my contribution to the *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, done so not without some acerbity *vis à vis* certain translations, arguments and views of Ghosh, which has given him offence. While admitting that the *tenor* of my paper might have been more lenient, I do not hold myself guilty of having used 'language of the most unprecedented sort' (Ghosh, Ind. Cult., IV, p. 387), nor of 'vituperative eloquence' (*l.c.*, p. 388)—expressions of Ghosh's that overshoot the mark to such an extent that I can think myself more than quits with him regarding unnecessary polemical impoliteness.

However, if Ghosh had said nothing else, if he had confined himself to a protest—however violent—against the form of my attack and to an objective well considered answer to my arguments, I should hardly have taken the word again, leaving it to others to find out the siddhānta after pūrva- and uttarapakṣa well stated. I believe to be right when thinking that it is not a question of 'Thieme and Pāṇini', but only and solely whether Pāṇini can be proved to have borrowed formulations from the Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya.

But Ghosh has gone much further. He promises, Ind. Cult., IV, p. 388: 'I shall point out some of those cases where Thieme has tried to hold me up to ridicule by intentionally misrepresenting me.' Did he not realize the graveness of the charge contained in this sentence, which if true would justly disqualify me in the eyes of every honorable scholar? Did he, Dr. of two great universities, not take his own words serious? Why then did he not recognize that after saying and having printed those words it was his serious duty to show firstly that I *did* misrepresent him, secondly that I did so *intentionally*, and thirdly—though this may be a minor point—that I did so to hold him up to ridicule?

It is in vain that I look for a single point on which Ghosh has shown himself to have been even as much as 'misrepresented' by

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[1] Pāṇini and the Veda, pp. 3ff., p. 61, n. 2; Ind. Hist. Quart., XIII, pp. 329ff.

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me. He is contenting himself with the assertion that I have done so in dealing with his interpretation of Pāṇini's last sūtra but one (*l.c.*). Is the alleged 'misrepresentation' supposed to be contained in my not having said anything on the 'metrical' nature of the first part of Pāṇini 8. 4. 67? If it were true what Ghosh says (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 388), that he 'particularly stressed' it in his first paper, I certainly should have referred to it. But there (Ind. Hist. Quart., X, p. 670) he simply mentioned the observation, and I must confess that it did not strike me as sufficiently relevant to be argued on: for if Pāṇini had said, according to his usual way, *nodāttasvaritaparam*, the syllables would still form a correct first *pāda* of an *anuṣṭubh*. How right I was in taking this particular argument very easy, is now, I hope, amply evident from the remarks of S. P. Chaturvedi on this question.[1] Ghosh himself said in his first paper referring to Pāṇini 8. 4. 67: 'The whole problem here hinges on the word *udaya* which has been used here in the sense of *para*' (Ind. Hist. Quart., X, p. 670), whereas now he says: 'The whole argument hinges here on the *metrical* nature of the first part of Pāṇ. VIII. 4. 67' (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 388). How was I to be aware beforehand of the shifting nature of his 'hinge'?

K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya too has given his opinion on Ghosh's attempt at tracing Pāṇini 8. 4. 67 to the Ṛkprātiśākhya (Ind. Hist. Quart., XIII, p. 347): he did not enter into a discussion on the 'metrical' cadence in the named sūtra either. Why then does Ghosh take up only me? Why it is only I who is reprimanded for 'trying to mislead the public by intentionally suppressing an inconvenient fact' (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 388)?

There is one other case of Ghosh charging me with 'trying to suppress the central point of my [Ghosh's] argument' (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 394). The question is of the interpretation of Pāṇini 1. 1. 17-18. But I am left to guessing as to what 'central point' Ghosh is referring to. I suppose, I must suppose, that he is alluding to me not having 'mentioned' his assertion that 'it is solely due to construing "Śākalyasya" in this way [i.e. as meaning "in the opinion of Śākalya" and hence considering Pāṇini 1. 1. 17-18 to be *vaikalpika* on account of the *anuvṛtti* of Śākalyasya: Ind. Hist. Quart., X, p. 667] that Patañjali was constrained to split up the sūtra [1. 1. 17-18] into two as I [Ghosh] particularly stressed in my first article' (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 395). 'To what,' asks Ghosh, 'shall I attribute this eloquent silence on their [Chaṭṭopādhyāya's and my] part?'

I am surprised. For in my incriminated paper in Ind. Hist. Quart., XIII, I have shown at length (pp. 338–340) that the

[1] New Ind. Ant., I, p. 451.

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yogavibhāga in question was proposed by Kātyāyana, and accepted by Patañjali, *not* because it was considered to be *vaikalpika*, but for quite a different reason. What am I to say when Ghosh not only sticks to his wrong idea, not only 'stresses it' once more, but charges me with 'eloquent silence' on this point?

Not only has Ghosh not taken the trouble to show that I have misrepresented him, nor have I actually done so. If there has been 'misrepresenting' it was on Ghosh's part. He has, as I have already pointed out, charged me with keeping silence on a point on which I have written almost three pages. According to Ghosh Chaṭṭopādhyāya and I 'are determined not to take the word *anārṣa* to mean the Padapāṭha' (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 391), yet I said—without being able to enlist the support of K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya—'*anārṣa* may mean accordingly [i.e. for the reasons stated] "not Vedic yet similar to Vedic", i.e. "belonging to the Padapāṭha"' (Ind. Hist. Quart., XIII, p. 335). Instead of mentioning which Ghosh says: 'I take their [Chaṭṭopādhyāya's and my] endorsement of the traditional interpretation as tantamount to rejecting my interpretation of the word *anārṣa.*' Nor is this unnecessary inference based on a correct supposition. It was *not* my aim simply to endorse the traditional interpretation, but to understand it properly and examine it critically. I distinctly stated several points 'on which we may propose to disagree with the tradition' (Ind. Hist. Quart., XIII, pp. 334ff.), the first point being the meaning of *anārṣa*, another one the admission that *v iti* 'may well be a "hypothetical word-combination"' and 'is rightly suspect'[1] (Ind. Hist. Quart., XIII, p. 338). Which case, by the way, did I 'give away' with this admission? My case having been only to show that there was no *proof* for Ghosh's view that Pāṇini has taken 1. 1. 16–19 and 8. 4. 67 from the Rv.-Prātiśākhya.

'Misrepresentation' of another scholar's statements, arguments, or views by a scholar is, I hope, only very occasionally 'intentional'. It may, especially in treating intricate questions like those forming the subject of our papers, more or less easily arise from an ambiguous expression, or from a pardonable misunderstanding, or, finally, from insufficient attention. The manner in which Ghosh has misrepresented me may be explained as due, not to bad intention, nor to misunderstanding but to carelessness. It was another carelessness of his to start his paper in Ind. Cult., IV, pp. 387ff. with speculations on why I

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[1] According to Ghosh, Ind. Cult., IV, p. 395, Wackemagel, Grammatik I § 270*a* has shown that it is 'actually impossible'. I fail to see how Ghosh can make this out from the wording of the quoted paragraph, nor why anybody should dogmatise about a pronunciation impossible of verification by the ear.

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kept quiet for such a long time, after what was said by K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya: 'The above [i.e. my] paper was written by....Thieme.... shortly after the publication of Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's paper' (Ind. Hist. Quart., XIII, p. 343). But should I not 'accuse him of ill will' when he says about me: 'I assume that only after three years' meditation he has been able to grasp the problems which were discussed in my first article' (Ind. Cult., IV, p. 387)? For there would have been no reason for such an insipid suggestion, even then not if I had actually written my paper three years later than I did. Scientific journals are no daily papers. It is every scholar's good right to take up a question the time he likes and thinks to be able to contribute to its solution, irrespective of the time that may have elapsed since it was treated last. Discussions on 'Pāṇini and the Ṛkprātiśākhya' may, for all I know, still go on when both of us have long since left this world of error and imperfection. The translation of Pāṇini 1. 1. 16 which Max Müller gave in 1869: 'the vowel *o* in the vocative, if the non-Vedic *iti* of Śākalya follows, remains unchanged' (Ṛg-Veda-Prātiśākhya, p. 11), has been resurrected by Ghosh: 'The *o* of vocative is *pragṛhya* when Śākalya's non-Vedic *iti* follows' (Ind. Hist. Quart., X, p. 666, published in 1934), without him being aware, apparently, of his illustrious predecessor. May be another 60 years hence some other scholar will rise up again and try to convince his sceptic contemporaries of the correctness of the same translation, fondly imagining to have made a new and startling discovery.

When contributing a paper to a scientific journal devoted to research and of the standard of the Indian Historical Quarterly, I do not address, as Dr. Ghosh seems to suggest, an ignorant 'public' likely to be 'misled' by me, but a forum of competent scholars able to understand and weigh arguments and to arrive at independent conclusions. What I had to tell them I have said. Till now I have not to change or to recall a single argument. If I return to the subject it will be to discuss with K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya and S. P. Chaturvedi those delicate points on which I differ from *them*. For having vindicated myself from the charges of 'intentionally misrepresenting' Dr. Ghosh, and of 'intentionally suppressing an inconvenient fact', I do not see why I should for his benefit repeat what I said before, after ascertaining that he did not even read properly my first paper. Nor do I think it necessary to discuss Dr. Ghosh's new ideas, as they have been dealt with in a manner touching every essential point and compelling my acceptance in every essential detail by S. P. Chaturvedi in New Ind. Ant., I, pp. 45off.

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE KAMARUPA KINGS*

By DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE

In the last July issue of the *Indian Culture* Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, C.I.E., tried to prove from the chronology of the Kamarupa Kings that my theory on the identity of the era of the Gupta Vikramadityas with the Vikramaditya era of 58 B.C. in support of which I wrote an additional short note entitled 'Acarya Vasubandhu, the teacher of Sthiramati' (*Indian Culture*, April, 1938) is impossible and levelled not a direct attack on the correctness or otherwise of my note but a side attack with the sweeping remark 'We find, however, from the chronology of the Kamarupa kings that almost immediately after the death of Bhāskaravarman, Sālastambha usurped the throne of Kamarupa and Harjaravarman was at least ninth in descent from Sālastambha. Bhāskaravarman was a contemporary of Harshavardhana and Yuan Chwang and he died about 650 A.D. How can, therefore, Harjaravarman be ruling about 452 A.D.?' and cited the rock inscription of Harjaravarman at Tezpur at the end of which is the date 'Gupta 510' which according to Fleet's epoch is equivalent to A.D. 829 which makes the 'interval between Bhāskaravarman and Harjaravarman one of 179 years' which according to Rai Bahadur 'is quite probable as this would give a reign of approximately 19 years, on an average, to each intervening king '.

On an examination of the available records of the Kamarupa kings one fails to find any evidence that almost immediately after the death of Bhāskaravarman, Sālastambha usurped the throne of Kamarupa. This is a piece of conjecture following on 'Gupta 510' of Harjara being equivalent on Fleet's hypothesis to A.D. 829. For, there were at least nine kings from Sālastambha to Harjara and as Sālastambha was supposed to have usurped the throne of Kamarupa immediately after Bhāskaravarman (c. A.D. 650), this gave an average of about 20 years to each reign for nine generations up to Harjara. So far so good. But then there were twelve more generations after Harjara to Tyagasimha, the last and the 21st of Sālastambha's family. This would lead us to c. A.D. (829+240, or) 1069 for the beginning of Brahmapala's reign and c. A.D. 1210 for the end of Dharmapala's (the seventh from Brahmapala) reign. But this leads to great difficulties on Fleet's hypothesis, for, there was king Jayapala ruling in Kamarupa who can under no circumstances

* It is a pity that the author has not used diacritical marks in this article.—Eds.

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be placed later than the 11th century A.D. on palæographic grounds as shown by Dr. R. G. Vasak (Epig. Ind , Vol. XIII, p. 292). Thus the reign of nineteen kings after Harjara to Dharmapala was condensed to 290 years from A.D. 829 to 1120 with an average of 15 years only for each reign which seems incredible. But even then no place for Jayapala could be found in the 11th century A.D., for, Mahārajādhirājas Ratnapala to Harshapala were ruling in Kamarupa during that period on Fleet's hypothesis. Hence it was assumed that Jayapala perhaps reigned more than a century and a half later in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D. Though this Jayapala of the Shilimpur (Bogra) grant is no other than the Gauda king Jayapala, brother of Mahārājādhirāja Devapala of Gauda as suggested by some historians, this possibility was discountenanced, for, Jayapala, Devapala's brother, was ruling in the ninth century A.D. and on Fleet's hypothesis Mahārājādhirājas Harjara, Vanamala, Jayamala, and Valavarman were ruling in Kamarupa during that period creating impossibilities. But even placing Jayapala in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D. as a son or grandson of Dharmapala of Assam does not obviate difficulties. For, from the Assam plate of Ballabhadeva dated Saka 1107=A.D. 1185 we know that Ballabha's grand-father Rāyārideva Trailokyasimha fought with the king of Bengal and forced him to cease fighting. Rāyārideva was, therefore, ruling about A.D. 1110 and fought with the Sena King of Bengal, evidently Vijayasena.

'येनापास्तसमस्तशस्त्रसमयः संग्रामभूमौ रिपु-
स्त्रक्रे वङ्गकरीन्द्रसङ्गविषमे साटोपयुद्धोत्सवे ।
येनात्यर्थमयं स्वयं सफलितस्त्रैलोक्यसिंहो विधिः
सोऽभूद् भास्करवंशराजतिलको रायारिदेवो नृपः ॥'

(Epig. Ind., Vol. V, p. 184.)

In Vijayasena's Deopara inscription it is stated that he drove the Kamarupa king: 'गौड़ेन्द्रमद्रवद् अपाकृतकामरूपभूपं कलिङ्गमपि यस्त्ररसा जिगाय ।' Evidently the fight of Vijayasena with Rāyārideva was an indecisive one, each party claiming that they forced the other party to retire. Thus Jayapala and Vallabhadeva have got to be placed together about A.D. 1175 in Kamarupa on Fleet's hypothesis which makes Mahārājādhirāja Dharmapala to Jayapala to rule in Kamarupa from A.D. 1100 to 1175. But according to the Assam plates kings from Bhaskara to Vallabhadeva have got to be placed in Assam then. As this creates an impossibility Mm. Padmanatha Vidyavinode, M.A., tried to make one believe that Vallabhadeva and his predecessors were not of Assam at all, the find spot of the

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inscriptions, and stated in support of this a fact that Sir Edward Gait does not mention this plate in his 'History of Assam' published in 1905 whereas the Assam plates were published in the Epig. Ind. for 1899 which we know are published some years later. This is a very weak argument indeed. Rāyārideva's fight with the king of Bengal shows that he must have belonged to Assam, the find spot of the inscription. As Bhaskara to Vallabhadeva were ruling in Kamarupa in the 12th century A.D. Jayapala has no place in Kamarupa even then. Jayapala is thus evidently the brother of Mahārājādhirāja Devapala of Gauda and Kamarupa and flourished c. A.D. 830 to 865. But on Fleet's hypothesis Mahārājādhirājas Harjara and Vanamāla were ruling in Kamarupa then. These impossible situations ought to have shown Rai Bahadur Barua the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch which creates insuperable difficulties in the chronology of Kamarupa kings.

Now, from the history of the Gauda Pala Mahārājādhirājas we know that Dharmapala conquered Kamarupa (to be discussed shortly) which was in the undisturbed possession of the Gauda Pala kings till the time of Nayapala during whose reign Haihaya (Chedi or Kalachuri) Karna made an unsuccessful attack on his dominions. But during Nayapala's son Vigrahapala III's reign (c. A.D. 1054–1068) his dominions were attacked by Haihaya Karna and Chalukya Ahavamalla's son Prince Vikramaditya between A.D. 1040 to 1071 and there was the Kaivarta revolution. At this time Kamarupa passed from the hands of the Gauda Pala kings unto the Haihaya kings for a short period. In the 'Yogini Tantra' it is stated that Kamarupa passed into the hands of the Haihayas (Chedis or Kalachuris) and the Tālajanghas (Tāla or Chāla? probably the Chālukyas or the Solankis) in Saka 981=A.D. 1059. 'इन्द्रष्टनवान् गते शाके कलौ युगे पुण्यदेशाधिपा यूयं भविष्यथ सुनिश्चितं ॥' (Patala 14, verse 43). But Vigrahapala's son Ramapala again conquered Kamarupa towards the end of the 11th century A.D. From the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva, dated Saka 1107=A.D. 1185 we know that 'in the lunar race there was Bhaskara; his son Rāyārideva Tarilokyasimha (whose wife was Vasumati), his son Udayakarna Nihsankamalla (whose wife was Ahiadevi), their son Vallabhadeva'. We know that the Haihayas (Chedis or Kalachuris) were of the lunar race. Evidently Haihaya Karna and Chalukya Prince Vikramaditya conquered Kamarupa about A.D. 1059. Karna probably placed Bhaskara, Vallabhadeva's great grand-father as king there. The names of Vallabhadeva's father and mother show that they belonged to Haihaya Karna's family. Karna conquered 'Kira' which was evidently the

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land of the Kiratas. 'स किरातैश्च चीनैश्च वृतः प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽभवत्।' (Mahabharata-Sabhaparva, 26-9).

From the inscriptions of Gauda Pala Mahārājādhirājas Dharmapala to Narayana Pala who were ruling from the last quarter of the 8th century to the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. we know that they were the rulers of the whole of Northern India from Assam to Gandhara. 'Dharmapala succeeded in carrying his arms far beyond the limits of Bengal and Bihar. He made himself master of most of Northern India and.... was strong enough to depose one Raja of Kanauj and substitute another in his place. He is said to have effected the revolution with the assent of nine northern kings, whose designations indicate that the influence of the Bengal monarch extended even to Gandhara on the north-western frontier.' From the Bādāl (Dinajpur) Garuda pillar inscription we learn 'Garga (the minister of Dharmapala) used to jeer at Brihaspati by saying that Indra was the lord of the East, not of any other direction. But Indra even having a minister like Brihaspati was defeated in that direction by the Asuras. Whereas, I (Garga) made Dharma (pala), the lord of the East, master of all directions'. 'शक्रः पुरोदिग्नि पतिर्न दिगन्तरेषु तत्रापि दैत्यपतिभिर्जित एव सद्यः। धर्म्मः कृतस्तदधिप-स्त्वखिलासु दिक्षु स्वामी मयेति विजहास बृहस्पतिं यः॥' From the work 'Dharmamangala' by different authors we know that Dharmapala was at first unsuccessful to conquer Kamarupa, but later on he was successful with the help of his general Lausena to conquer it. Taranatha also states that Dharmapala conquered Kamarupa.

From the Mungyr plate of Mahārājādhirāja Devapala, son of Dharmapala, we learn that Devapala was in possesson of the undisturbed dominions of his father 'राज्यमाप निरूपद्रवं पितुर्बोधिसत्व इव सौगतं पदं।' (verse 12). But it seems during his reign the Kamarupa king was giving him troubles, so Devapala sent his brother Jayapala to subdue the king of Kamarupa which he did and made his brother's reign prosperous. In the 5th verse of Narayanapala's Bhagalpur inscription it is stated that as Upendra, Indra's younger brother, defeated the Dharmadviṣas (Asuras) and made Indra's reign prosperous so did Jayapala defeat the Dharmadviṣas (the Asuras) and made Devapala's reign prosperous ('तस्माद् उपेन्द्रचरितैर्जगतीं पुनानः पुत्रो बभूव विजयी-जयपालनामा। धर्म्मद्विषां श्रमयिता युधि देवपाले यः पूर्व्वजे भुवनराज्य-सुखान्यनैषीत्॥'). Dr. Hultzsch, Akshoy Kumar Maitra, Mm. Padmanatha Vidyabinode, and Dr. R. G. Vasak should have known that these Dharmadviṣas (Asuras) are none but the armies of the descendant of Narakāsura, the Kamarupa king, who was defeated by

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Jayapala. This 'धर्म्मद्विषां युधि श्रमयिता' is explained clearly in the next verse राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणाम् उपप्लमितसमित्' (समित् = युद्ध) ('आसाद्यके चिराय प्रणयिपरिक्षतो विभ्रद् उच्चेन मूर्द्धा राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणाम् उपप्लमित-समित्-सङ्ख्यां यस्य चाज्ञां।') As such, Dr. Vasak's remarks quoted by Mm. Padmanatha Vidyabinode in his Kāmarupa Śāsanāvali that this Jayapala was not even a 'क्षापाल', not to speak of 'कामरूपनृपति', a king of Kamarupa, are groundless. They should see that the Shilimpur grant of the Kamarupa king Jayapaladeva belongs to Jayapala, brother of Devapala of Gauda, as already suggested by some historians. If this Jayapala had been a son or grandson of Dharmapalavarmadeva of Pragjyotisha his name should have been written as 'Jayapalavarmadeva' and not 'Jayapaladeva' as usual with Gauda Pala kings. The impossibility of placing Mahārājādhirājas Dharmapala, Devapala, and Jayapala as lords of Gauda and Kamarupa at a time when Fleet's epoch Mahārājādhirājas Harjara, Vanamāla, Jayamāla, and Valavarman were ruling in Kamarupa shows as clearly as possible the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch. As Jayapala, king of Kamarupa, has no place there on Fleet's epoch between A.D. 829 (=G.E. 510) and 1185 (=Saka 1107 of Vallabhadeva) it shows as clearly as possible that the same is in error by more than three centuries and a half.

In the Nepal inscription of Jayadeva (II), dated Samvat 153= A.D. 730, (in an article entitled 'The Epoch of the so-called Harsha Era', read before the first Indian Culture Conference held in 1936, I have shown that the epoch of the so-called Harsha era is really current Saka 500=A.D 576-77 with omitted hundreds) it is stated that he married the daughter of Harshadeva of Bhagadatta's lineage (evidently a Kamarupa king) who was the lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga, and Kosala. On Fleet's epoch, Rai Bahadur Barua and others have no other option but to identify this Harshadeva with Sri Harisha or Harshavarma, son of Vajradeva of Sālastambha's family. But the ascription of the above epithets to Sri Harisha is really far fetched. Hence Sir Edward Gait, J. F. Monahan, Mm. Padmanath Vidyabinode consider Sri Harisha being stated as lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga, and Kosala an instance of poetic exaggeration—a mere 'bombast'. In fact Fleet's epoch is responsible for this wrong identification. Harshadeva of Kamarupa, lord of Gauda, Odra, and other countries was no other than Maharajadhiraja Harshapalavarmadeva, the 'Pālakulapradipa', father of Mahārājādhirāja Dharmapala of Kamarupa. This Harshapalavarmadeva, after conquering Orissa, probably established, as already suggested by Rai Bahadur Ramaprosad Chanda, a relative of his named Kshemankara-

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deva as ruler of Orissa, for, Kshemankara, his son Mahārājādhirāja Subhakara and the latter's son Mahārājādhirāja Sivakaradeva claimed themselves to be 'Bhaumas' or descendants of Naraka. Mahārājādhirāja Sivakaradeva sent an embassy to China in A.D. 795, evidently before his defeat by Dharmapala of Gauda. From Harshapala's predecessor Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapala's inscription we learn that the kings of Gurjara, Gauda, Kerala, etc., and the Tayikas or Tajikas (the Arabs) were in constant dread of him. The defeat of this Sri Harshadeva by the Karnataka army, evidently of Vikramaditya II Chalukya about A.D. 735, is mentioned in the Shamangad inscription of Rashtrakuta Dantidurga of Saka 674 =A.D. 752. Thus Mahārājādhirāja Harshapalavarmadeva was ruling from c. A.D. 720 to 750 and therefore Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapala reigned from c. A.D. 660 to 686. This date of Ratnapala may be supported from a comparison of the following sentence from Bāṇa's 'Harsha-charita' (composed about A.D. 645) concerning Prabhākaravardhana : 'हूण-हरिणकेशरी-सिन्धुराजो ज्वरगुर्ज्जरप्रजागरः गान्धाराधिपगन्धद्विपकूटपाकल.....' (Chap. 4) with the epithets applied to Ratnapala in his inscriptions (.....शकक्रीड़ाशकुनिदृढ़पञ्जरेण गुर्ज्जराधिराजप्रज्वरेण, दुर्द्दान्तगौडेन्द्रकरिकूटपाकलेन केरलेशाचलशिलाजतुना वाहिकतायिकातङ्ककारिणा दाक्षिणात्यक्ष्मोणिपतिराजयक्ष्मणा.....' an evident imitation from Bana. Moreover, the Tayikas or Tajikas (the Arabs) are mentioned in Ratnapala's inscription and these Tajikas or the Arabs had conquered Persia in A.D. 641 and pressed towards India and the conquest of Sind by the Arabs was effected by A.D. 712. Evidently the Arab army was in dread of the Kamarupa soldiers. From the Nausari plate of Gujerat Chalukya Pulakesiraja, dated (Kalachuri) samvat 490= A.D. 739, we learn that he repulsed a Tajika (Arab) army which tried to reduce the Navasarika country on their way to the Deccan. This shows that the date of Ratnapala was towards the end of the 7th century A.D. when the Tajikas or the Arabs appeared in India.

Acarya Sankara in his Sāriraka-bhāshya of the 'Vedānta Darsana' cites an ancient well-known tradition, containing the names of Valavarman, Jayasimha, and Krishnagupta 'तथा च लोकप्रसिद्धेषु अपि अतियाचिकेषु एवं जातीयको उपदेशो दृश्यते—गच्छ त्वं इतो बलवर्म्माणं ततो जयसिंहं ततः कृष्णगुप्तम् इति ?' (Ch. IV, pada III, sutra 5) 'Go thou hence unto Valavarman, from there unto Jayasimha, and thence to Krishnagupta' i.e., Valavarman will carry you to Jayasimha, Jayasimha will carry you to Krishnagupta, and so on—in connection with the journey of the soul in ascending planes. This traditional saying quoted by Acarya Sankara shows that these kings preceded Acarya Sankara

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who lived from c. A.D. 682 to 720 (vide 'Acarya Sankara and Ramanuja' by Mm. Rajendra Ch. Vidyabhusana, pp. 787–809). Now there is no king Valavarman flourishing before A.D. 680 known to Indian epigraphy except Valavarman of the Pushyavarman family of Kamarupa who, however, flourished long before Acarya Sankara. As for Vala(varman), son of Sri Harisha, he flourished on Fleet's epoch about A.D. 750 long after Acarya Sankara's departure. According to my theory the King Valavarman mentioned in the tradition is to be identified with Mahārājādhirāja Valavarman, great grandson of Harjara (G.E. 510=A.D. 452). As such Valavarman flourished c. A.D. 530. The other king Jayasimha was the Western Chalukya Jayasimha I who flourished c. A.D. 500 and Krishnagupta was no other than the Krishnagupta of the Later Gupta dynasty who flourished c. A.D. 430. Thus the successive priority of these kings in point of time as intended by the tradition is proved which fails on Fleet's epoch—for, after Valavarman of Pushyavarman's family there was Krishnagupta and then Jayasimha.

Now I come to an examination of the statement that almost immediately after the death of Bhaskaravarman Salastambha usurped the throne of Kamarupa and thereby fix the correct Chronology of the Kamarupa kings.

From the Tezpur rock inscription of Harjaravarma we know that he was reigning in Gupta 510=A.D. 452, i.e., about 200 years prior to Bhaskaravarman. The first and last plates of Harjaravarman's Haiyungthal (Nowgong) plate have not been traced. The first four lines of the middle one are also almost defaced and unintelligible. Hence no history of his ancestors could be made out from the plate except the statement: 'For this reason your future kings will be styled Mlecchas.' ('अतो म्लेच्छाभिधानास्तु भविष्यास्तवपार्थिवः। But from Harjara's son Vanamala's Tezpur inscription we get the following clear history: 'Bhagadatta and Vajradatta were two sons of Narakasura. On Bhagadatta receiving the lordship of Pragjyotisha country Vinaya bhara (? evidently Vajradatta) also came there, performed austerities, and worshipped God.' ('क्षणेन तं निहत्य च स्थौ भगदत्तवज्रदत्ताख्यौ॥.....संप्राप्ते भगदत्ते श्रीमत्प्रागज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वं। विनयभरोऽपि तदेत्य प्राराधयद् ईश्वरं तपसा॥')

Being pleased, God made him the lord of Uparipattana (evidently the upper valley of the Brahmaputra or the high hilly tracts north and east of Pragjyotisha) and reserved for future the Lordship of Pragjyotisha also for his descendants.'

('तुष्टेन तेन तस्मै दत्तम् उपरिपत्तनाधिनाथत्वं।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिराज्यं कालेन तद् अन्वयस्यापि॥')

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In his (Vajradatta's) family were the kings Sālastambha to Sree Harisha, Pralamba, Harjara, etc.; so that from this inscription it is clear that Bhagadatta's family were ruling in Pragjyotisha identified by modern Kamarupa or Western Assam with its capital at Gauhati and Vajradatta's family were ruling in Eastern Assam consisting of a series of hills and hillocks inhabited by numerous aboriginal or Mleccha tribes. It was for this reason that Vajradatta's descendant Sālastambha's family is known by the epithet 'Mlecchadinatha' which was clearly stated by Harjara in his inscription: अतो म्लेच्छाभिधानास्तु भविष्यास्तव पार्थिवः. Hence Rai Bahadur Barua's supposition that Sālastambha's family were not of Mleccha origin but they were simply the Lords of the Mlecchas is correct. The above shows clearly that Bhaskaravarman and Harjaravarman belonged to two collateral dynasties. It may be stated that all the inscriptions of Sālastambha's family were found in the districts of Nowgong and (Tezpur) in Darrang, north of Kamarupa and the Brahmaputra. At one time Vajradatta's descendants (Sālastambha, etc.) usurped the throne of Pragjyotisha and thus Bhagadatta's descendants became subordinate to them and at another Bhagadatta's descendants conquered Eastern and Northern Assam and made Sālastambha's descendants subordinate to them. This explains why no mention of Sālastambha and his descendants is to be found in Bhaskaravarman's inscription or vice versa (as follows from Fleet's epoch). It is to be regretted that this most important inscription of Vanamāla for the correct elucidation of the chronology of Kamarupa kings and to show the incorrectness of the statement 'almost immediately after the death of Bhaskaravarman Sālastambha usurped the throne of Kamarupa,' following from Fleet's epoch cannot be traced. The plates were sent by Gen. Jenkins to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta and were exhibited at a meeting of the Society in A.D. 1840. But it is strange that these plates are missing—after Fleet's discovery in A.D. 1887?—as we know from Dr. Hoernle's remarks in the J.A.S.B., 1897, part I, p. 120). One has now to rely solely on the reading of the Pundit in Assam supplied by Gen. Jenkins to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and this reading was corrected by Pundit Kamalakanta of the Asiatic Society in A.D. 1840 and published in the Society's Journal. The date at the end of the inscription read as 'Samvat 19 chha-bhikā-ka-chhi' is meaningless which might have been read correctly now if the original inscription was available. The word read as 'विनयभरो' might originally have been 'वचदत्तो'. Here Mm. Padmanath Vidyabinode's emendations and translation of the above verses from Vanamāla's inscription are evidently wrong. He changes संप्राप्ते भगदत्ते

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श्रीमत् प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वं। विनयभरोऽपि तदेत्य प्राराधयदीश्वरं तपसा॥' to 'संप्राप्तो भगदत्तः श्रीमत्...। विनयभरेण तदेत्य...॥' as if Bhagadatta, on becoming lord of Pragjyotisha, came there, worshipped God, who being pleased made him the lord of Uparipattana (also). But to bring in this 'also' is misconstruing, for, in the inscription it is clearly 'तुष्टेन तेन तस्मै दत्तम् उपरिपत्तनाधित्वं।'. Even accepting 'also' one fails to follow the explanation in support of the translation of the next line 'प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिराज्यं कालेन तदन्वयस्यापि।' 'in future his (i.e., Bhagadatta's, according to Mm. Padmanath Vidyabinode) descendants will also receive the lordship of Pragjyotisha', for, Bhagadatta was already lord of Pragjyotisha. However, Mm. Padmanatha's 'Addenda and Corrigenda' at the end of his 'Kāmarupasāsanāvali', pp. 202–03 may now be read with profit.

In the inscriptions of Vanamāla, Valavarma and Ratnapala it is distinctly stated that Vajradatta and Bhagadatta were brothers. But 'तस्यात्मजः' of Bhaskaravarman's Nidhanpur plate has been taken to refer to the immediately preceding noun, i.e., 'Bhagadatta' and in Ratnapala's grandson Indrapala's inscription 'अमुष्य...तनूजः' has been taken to refer to the immediately preceding noun, i.e., 'Bhagadatta' by Mm. Padmanatha. In the Gauda king Devapaladeva's own Mungyr grant he distinctly states that he was the son of Dharmapala. But in later Gauda Pala inscriptions by taking 'तस्मात्' to refer to the immediately preceding noun 'वाक्पाल' by Dr. Hultzsch, Kielhorn, etc., it was concluded that Devapala was the son of Vakpala. Hence Kielhorn remarked, 'Considering that the Mungyr grant was issued by Devapala himself, it is more than probable that what is stated in it is correct and that the other inscriptions in this particular are wrong,' (J.A.S.B. Vol. LXI, p. 80). But the late Akshoy Kumar Maitra in his 'Gauda-lekha-mālā' p. 66, rightly argues to take 'तस्मात्' to refer to 'धर्म्मपाल' the noun immediately preceding 'वाक्पाल'. Similarly by taking 'तस्य' and 'अमुष्य' to refer to 'नरक' the noun immedately preceding 'भगदत्त' all the difficulties raised by Mm. Padmanatha will disappear and we see clearly that according to all Kamarupa inscriptions Bhagadatta and Vajradatta were brothers ruling in Western and Eastern Assam respectively.

I have stated in brief several arguments to show the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era from the history of the Gauda and Kamarupa kings, supporting thereby that the epoch of the era of the Gupta Vikramadityas is identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.

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I hope Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Barua will no longer hold views similar to Th. W. Kingsmill, Vice-President of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which runs thus: "Now in Indian tradition Vikramaditya is given the pre-eminent title of 'Sakāri' (enemy of the Sakas) or 'Sakāntika' (destroyer of the Sakas). He was, we are told, the hero, almost the demigod, whose victory over the Skythian invaders introduced the Samuat Era, and whose fame, whose magnificence, courage, and goodness are current talk amongst the children in the Punjab to the present day. Vikramaditya is of course Sanskrit, yet could hardly have been given as a name in the first instance; it does, indeed, occur again amongst the personal names in the Gupta dynasty, but the Gupta dynasty is three parts out of four mere legend unsupported by a single fact; and the Gupta Vikramaditya, as represented in current legends, is for the most part a mere reflex of the older," (hypothetical Vikramaditya?) ('Vikramaditya samvatsara and the founding of the Kusana kingdom'—J.A.S.B. 1911, p. 736).

I now append a synchronistic table of kings of dynasties ruling in Gauḍa, Vaṅga, and Kāmarūpa according to the identity of the Gupta Vikramaditya era with the Vikramaditya era of 58 B.C. which I hope Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Barua and others will examine impartially to ascertain the true history of Kamarupa.

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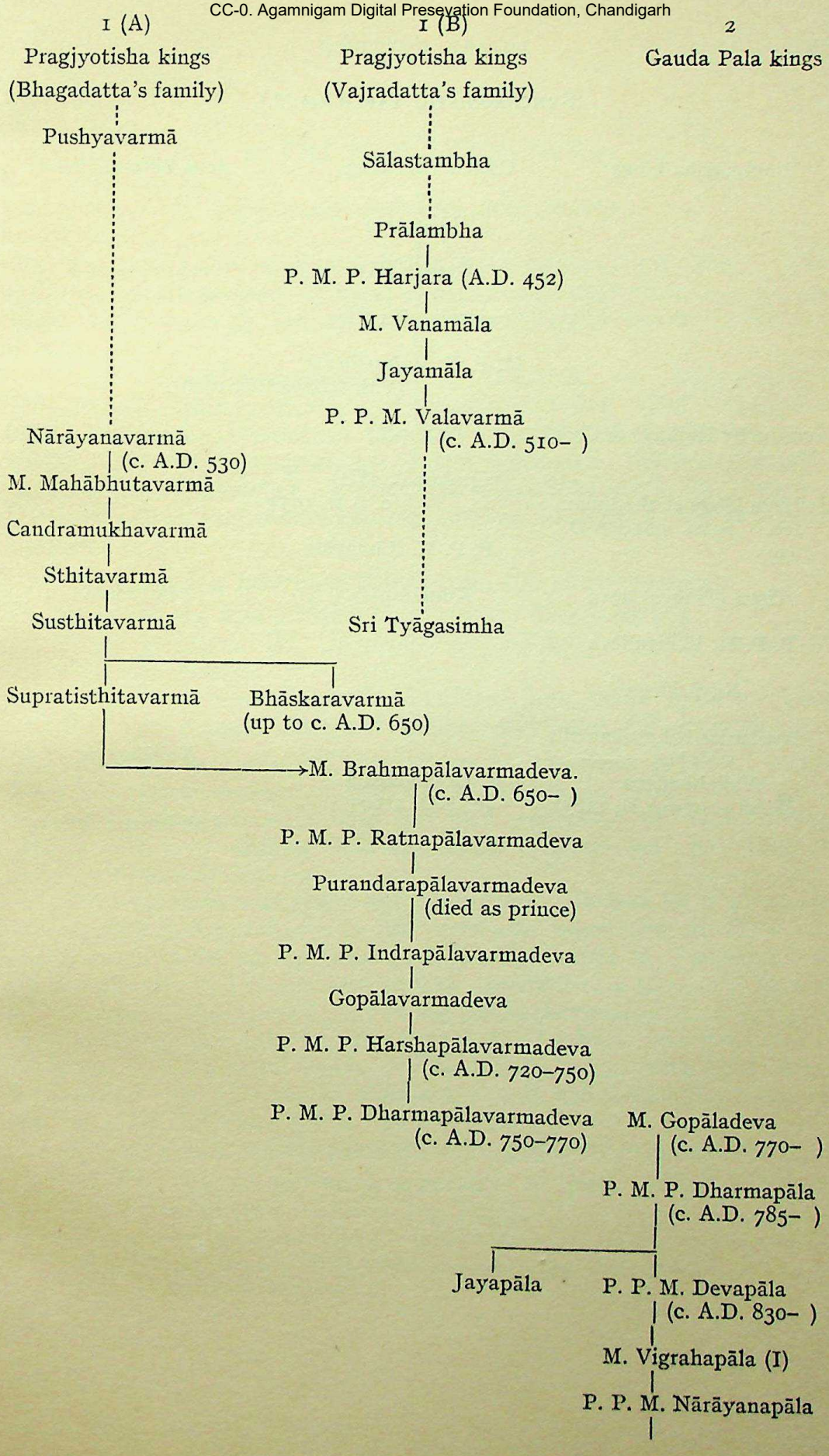

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SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE (*contd.*).

1	2	3
Pragjyotisha kings	Gauda Pala kings	Sena kings of Bengal
	Rājyapala	
	Gopāla (II)	
	Vigrahapāla (II)	
	M. P. P. Mahipāla (I) (V.S. 1083=A.D. 1026)	
Invasion by Haihaya or Chedi Karna	Nayapāla	
	Vigrahapāla (III) (c. A.D. 1054–)	
Haihaya kings of the lunar race. (Śaka 981=A.D. 1059)	P. P. M. Rāmapāla	
Tiṣya (Tingya) deva	Kumārapāla	Vijayasena
P. P. M. Vaidyadeva		
Rāyārideva		
Udayakarṇa Nihsankamalla		Vallālasena
Vallabhadeva (Śaka 1107=A.D. 1185)	Govindapāla (c. A.D. 1160–)	Lakshmana Sena

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PĪṬHĪ AND PĪṬHĪPATIS

By SARIT SEKHER MAJUMDAR

The Pîṭhîpatis were one of the feudatories of the Pâlas. They tried to be independent of their overlord and there lies their importance. The Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevî refers to them in verses 3–6 : [1]

'Bîrô Vallabharâjanâmabiditô mânyaḥ sa bhûmôbhujâṁ jetâsotpṛthupîṭhîkâpatiratiprôudapratâpodayaḥ ‖ Chhikkôravaṁśakumudôdayapûrṇachandraḥ Śrî Dêvarakshita iti prathitaḥ pṛthibyâṃ । Pîṭhîpatirgajapaterapi râjya-lakshmîṁ lakshmyâ jigâya jagadekamanôharaśrîḥ ‖ Tasmâdâsa payônidheriba bidhurlâbanyalakshmîbidhurnetrânandasamudrabardhanabidhuḥ kîrtirdyutiśrîbidhuḥ ।'

We know the following points from the above passage:

(1) There was a Pîṭhîkâpati named Vallabharâja.
(2) Pîṭhîpati Śrî Dêvarakshita belonged to the Chhikkôra family.
(3) The expression 'Tasmâdâsa' has been used to show relation between Vallabharâja and Dêvarakshita.

The passage in question also gives us the idea of Pîṭhî having been a separate dominion under the Chhikkôra family. Dêvarakshita was most probably the son and successor of Vallabharâja. Dr. Sten Konow thinks that the word 'Tasmâdâsa' indicates the relation of father and son.

Dêvarakshita was great and ambitious. It was he who aspired to establish independence in his dominion when the situation was made favourable by the revolt of the Kaivartas in Varendrî. He gave a timely hit but his success was destined to a blow at the arms of Mahaṇa. 'The second part of the Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevî contains the information that Dêvarakshita was defeated by Mahaṇa, the maternal uncle of the Gauḍa king, who thus firmly established the throne of Râmapâla and subsequently bestowed his daughter Śaṅkaradevî on the Pîṭhî lord.'[2]

The greatness of Dêvarakshita is proved by the following facts:—

(*a*) His rise to power necessitated a check which otherwise would prove fatal to the Pâlas.

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[1] E.I., IX, pp. 319–28. Text of the inscription, pp. *ibid.*, 323–26.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 320 ; note verses 7-8.

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(*b*) Mahaṇa gave his daughter Śaṅkaradevî in marriage to Dêvarakshita even after the latter's defeat. It was most probably a diplomatic step and perhaps the marriage remained as a guarantee against any repeat of trouble from Dêvarakshita.

(*c*) Kumaradevî, the daughter of Dêvarakshita, and the issuer of the Sarnath inscription was married to the great Gâhaḍavâla king Gôvindachandra.[1] This further establishes the greatness of Dêvarakshita.

The name of Dêvarakshita and his defeat at the arms of Mahaṇa is also mentioned in the Râmacarita.[2] But the commentator there calls Dêvarakshita 'Pîṭhîpatirmagadhâdhipaḥi' whereas the Sarnath inscription issued by his own daughter describes him as Pîṭhîpati only. In my opinion the Râmacarita is clearly wrong on this point. Kumaradevî would have certainly mentioned Dêvarakshita as the Lord of Magadha also had he really been so.

The next ruler of Pîṭhî is Vîmajaśa. He is mentioned along with the 'Samantas' who marched against the Kaivartas and is described as 'Bandyaiti Kânyakubjarâjabâjinîgaṇthanabhujangô Vîmajasôhabhidhânômagadhâdhipatiḥ, Pîṭhîpati'.[3] One certainly expects to see Dêvarakshita in the list of the 'samantas' but we find the name of Pîṭhîpati Vîmajaśa instead. We can safely conclude from above that Vîmajaśa was a descendant of or a natural heir to Dêvarakshita. We cannot think that Pîṭhî had slipped out of the Chikkôravaṁśa when Mahaṇa, the father-in-law of Dêvarakshita was still a dominant power to reckon with in the political development of the time. It strikes to me that the word 'Magadhâdhipatiḥ' is wrongly attached with Vîmajaśa as in the case of Dêvarakshita also. The status of Vîmajaśa as a samanta is indicated in the placing of his name first in the list. Moreover he has the distinguished attribute of 'Bandya'. Dr. R. D. Banerjee opined that Vîmajaśa probably defeated Yaśaḥkarṇa [4] and won the eulogy 'Kânyakubjarâjabâjinîgaṇthanabhujangâ'. To me the alluded success of Vîmajaśa does not strike to have been a very important one as such for otherwise the Râmacarita would have explicitly mentioned the name of as great a king as Yaśaḥkarṇa. To examine the validity of the eulogy it is necessary to peep into the contemporary history of Kanauj. Chandradeva Gâhaḍavâla is said to have established his capital at Kanauj but in the course of the history of the dynasty we find them

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[1] Verse 20 of the Sarnath inscription, E.I., IX, p. 325.
[2] Rāmacarita, Chapter II, Verse 8, Comment; M.A.S.B., III, p. 38.
[3] *Ibid.*, verse 5, Comment.
[4] Bânglâr Itihâsa (Bengali book), Vol. I, p. 284.

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connected with Benares.[1] Kanauj was most probably held by petty rulers. The Jhansi stone Inscription which refers to Chandella Kîrtivarman and Sallakhaṇasiṁha(-varman) in lines 20 and 27 gives a short list of the princes of Kanauj.[2] Dr. Keilhorn infers that 'the record has reference to the rulers of Kânyakubja themselves or to certain chiefs who owed allegiance to them.' The Sahet-Mahet inscription, dated s. 1176, speaks of Gopâla, the king of Kanauj.[3] I am inclined to identify this Gopâla with Gopâla, the minister of Kîrtivarman who, according to the Prabandhacandrodaya [4] and a Candella inscription from Mahoba [5] gave a wonderful display of ability and reconquered the lost dominions and prestige of the Candella dynasty by defeating Karṇa. Taking together the above-mentioned Jhansi and Sahet-Mahet inscriptions we find that Kanauj is being ruled over by so many feudatories. It is just possible that Vîmajaśa of Pîṭhî, the feudatory of Râmapâla defeated the cavalry of one of the above chiefs of Kanauj and earned the epithet 'Kânyakubjarâjabâjinîgaṇthanabhujango'. It is only a suggestion however.

We do not hear of any successor of Vîmajaśa. The next source of our information about Pîṭhî is the Janibagh [6] inscription. The object of the inscription is to donate the 'village of Kôṭṭhalâ, with land and water, without any reservation, together with the plough-tax, in Saptaghattâ' to the Majestic Diamond Throne for its monastary by king Jayasena, son of Buddhasena. Jayasena has been called Pîṭhîpati and 'Âchârya'. It is worthy of notice that the donator is also called 'Bhûpati'. Mr. Jayaswal was of opinion that 'Buddhasena was probably some collateral of the Sena king who ruled in c. 1199 A.C. and in 1202 he had not yet any principality of his own under the Turaskas'. On the other hand, his son, who would have been originally a governor under the Sena king, on the break up of the Sena empire in 1199 A.C. seems to have assumed sovereignty as he in 1202 (in the inscription) speaks of his own dynasty and contemplates his descendants to be his successors.' [7] Mr. N. G. Majumder shows with the support of an inscription that Buddhasena was not a collateral of the Sena kings and that they themselves ruled.[8]

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[1] I.A., 1885, 102-103. View of Dr. H. C. Ray also in 'Dynastic History of Northern India', Vol. I, 507-508.

[2] E.I., Vol. I, 214ff.

[3] J.A.S.B., 1892, Extra No., 57ff.

[4] Vol. I, 4, 6, 9.

[5] E.I., I, 217–222.

[6] I.A., XLVIII, 43–48, and J.B.O.R.S., IV, 265–280.

[7] J.B.O.R.S., IV, 265ff.

[8] I.A., XLVIII, 45. The photo-lithograph of the above inscription appears in Cunningham's Mahabodhi, Pl. XXVIII, No. C. Mr. N. G. Majumder thinks that Buddhasena belonged to the 'Chhinda' family and that the 'Chhikkôras' were

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We know nothing more of the dynastic history of Pîṭhî. Now I shall try to locate Pîṭhî. There is controversy over it. Dr. Sten Konow's view that Pîṭhî is modern Pisthapuram in S. India cannot be accepted. The Pâlas never possessed any dominion in S. India and it is undoubtedly absurd to think that a feudatory of the Pâlas could possibly exist there. According to Mr. Jayaswal 'there cannot be any doubt that in the early Sena times Pîṭhî denoted the whole of the province of Bihar, except Mithilâ. The commentator to the Râmacarita could not have flourished long after the Pâlas for he knows fully the details of the reign of Râmapâla. He always explains Pîṭhîpati as Magadhâdhipati or the king of Magadha'. Mr. H. Pandey opined that 'as such, it appears to have been the name given to the southern portion of Magadha .... It was possible that Pîṭhî is not the name of any particular country and that Pîṭhîpati was the title of the king who was the Protector of the Diamond Throne at the capital at Bodh-Gaya.

Mr. N. G. Majumder while editing the Janibagh inscription was sure to conclude that it 'included Bodh-Gaya and the region around it, as the inscription has been discovered in that locality.'[1] Late R. D. Banerjee was of opinion that it lies near the boundary of Magadha or that it might have been a buffer state between those of Kânyakubja and Gauḍa.[2]

I beg to differ with the above mentioned suggestions and to present my own view.

I think Mr. Jayaswal's reading of the commentator was wrong when he wrote that the Râmacarita explained Pîṭhîpati as the king of Magadha. Magadha has long history and nowhere, not even in the Janibagh inscription do we find any evidence identifying it with Pîṭhî. We must test the truth of the statement of the Râmacarita by comparing it with the Sarnath inscription. That authentic source of our information gives us ground to differ with the opinion of Mr. Jayaswal. The opinion of Mr. Pandey that Pîṭhîpati was the title of the king who was the protector of the Diamond Throne at the capital at Bodh-Gaya cannot be accepted in the face of the same Sarnath inscription which clearly conveys the idea that Pîṭhî was a separate principality. I do not agree with the theory which identifies Pîṭhî with Gaya. Gaya always came within Magadha. If Pîṭhî meant Gaya the question remains why a lord of Magadha should explicitly

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dispossessed of Pîṭhî by the Chhindas. His conclusions are based on the identification of Bodh-Gaya with Pîṭhî which I don't accept.

[1] I.A., XLVIII, p. 44.

[2] Bânglâr Itihâsa, I, 286. M.A.S.B., V, R. D. Banerji on 'The Palas of Bengal', p. 89.

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be mentioned as the lord also of a place within Magadha? The Janibagh inscription was found near Bodh-Gaya and hence scholars opine that Pîṭhî was somewhere near Gaya. But it does not necessarily mean so. The find-spot of the inscription does not always come within the dominion of the donator. It is just possible that Jayasena of the Janibagh inscription came on a pilgrimage to Bodh-Gaya and donated the village Koṭṭahalâ which must have been in his own dominion.

Now, where could that Pîṭhî be? I think that the kingdom of Pîṭhî was like a buffer between Aṇga and Varendrî. It corresponds roughly, in my opinion, to the area lying between the modern railway stations Colgong and Śakrîgali Jn. in E.I. Ry. Loop (Bhagalpur and Santhal Parganas) and I identify Pîṭhî with Pîrpainti on the following grounds :—

(1) Pîṭhî bears a striking similarity with Pointy which Mr. Rennell has shown in his map as a town of greater importance than what it is now under the name of Pîrpainti. It is more known as 'Painti' amongst all sections of the people. The place having been situated between the Ganges and the Rajmahal hills carried a strategic significance. It is generally found from history that the Mohammedans destroyed places of importance under Hindu rule and associated them with the name of Pîr. Pîṭhî was an important place of the Hindus and possibly the Mohammedans left the marks of their strength by naming the place Pîrpainti.[1]

(2) A bank of the Ganges near Pîrpainti is still known as Patthalghattâ. 'Patthal' means stone and Ghattâ probably stands for Ghat. The latter word is still associated only with this area near Painti. Hence we can say that Sapta Ghattâ of the Janibagh inscription was somewhere here. It is just possible that Sapta Ghattâ or the seven banks of particular area carried some special importance in those days and that the modern Patthal Ghattâ is one of those famous seven banks. Pîrpainti too stands on the Ganges and has a remarkable Ghat with old religious association.

Mr. N. L. Dey observed the importance of the above-mentioned Patthalghattâ and suggested that it was probably the site of the renowned Vikramaśilâ University.[2] It is just possible that Jayasena and Buddhasena of Pîṭhî were connected with the local Vikramaśilâ Vihâra and hence called themselves 'Âchârya'.

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[1] Is it that this area rougly represented the ancient Kajangala of which we find reference in Hieun-tsang's travel and also in Mahavagga, Vinaya Pitaka, Vol. I, 197?

[2] J.A.S.B., New Series, V, p. 7.

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(3) I have opined above that the village Kôṭṭhalâ mentioned in the Janibagh inscription was not near Gaya. If I go to identify Pîṭhî with Pîrpainti I must have to see whether any modern place nearabout carries the ancient name of Kôṭṭhalâ. The modern railway station Colgong(Kahalgâon), which even in the Mohammedan period was known as Kahalagrâm,[1] is but the changed form of Kôṭṭhalâgrâm. It is situated on the bank of the Ganges.

(4) Some sixteen miles north-east of Pîrpainti there is a place known as Śakrûgarh in Sahibganj. The 'Garh' stands on an elevated area surrounded on all sides by deep ditches. I personally visited the place and found that little dug-work have brought to light some structural slabs. Some stone images unearthed there speak of the antiquity of the place.[2]

We can, for benefit, see to the origin of the name Śakrûgarh. Śakrûgarh is but the changed form of 'Chhikkôragarh', i.e. the fort of the Chhikkôra family referred to in the Sarnath inscription.[3]

(5) We find a place nearly four miles east of Śakrugarh named Śakrîgali. It is nothing but the changed form of Śaṇkarî-Gali. We know from the Sarnath inscription that Śaṇkarî Devî was the daughter of Mahaṇa, the king of Aṇga and was married to Dêvarakshita. The marriage was undoubtedly one of great importance and it is just possible that Dêvarakshita named that strategic Gali (Pass) after his wife. The inhabitants of the locality ignorant as they are of history, associate the place with the name of Goddess Śaṇkarî Devî. Dr. Qanungo has noticed the strategic importance of the area between Teliagarhi and Śakrîgali during the time of Sher Shah.[4] This gallipoli of the East or the key to Bengal was in the hands of the Pîṭhîpati Dêvarakshita. This explains the diplomatic necessity of defeating Dêvarakshita and winning him permanently to his side by matrimonial alliance on the part of Mahaṇa who was out to re-establish his nephew Râmpâla.

I intend to conclude my paper after describing in short the archæological finds of the area which are positive evidences of the historical importance of the locality during the Pâla period:

"(*a*)[5] 'Chaturbhûja Vishnu mûrti' made of black stone. The height, breadth and the plinth are 3 ft. 10 in., 1 ft. 6 in. and 8 in. respectively. It belongs to the Pâla period.

(*b*) Images of Ganesh and Vishnu, of the Pâla period, have also been unearthed near Śakrûgarh.

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[1] Jauhar MSS., p. 28.
[2] They are preserved in the E.I. Ry. H. E. School Museum, Sahibganj (S.P.).
[3] E.I., IX, 323ff., V. 3–6.
[4] Qanungo's Sher Shah, Ed. 1921, pp. 168–170.
[5] "(*a*) to (*f*)"—opinion of Mr. P. C. Paul, Archæologist.

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(*c*) A railing made of black stone with simple architectural decorations have also been found at Salempur near Mirja Chowki (near Pîrpainti).

(*d*) The broken portion of a palm with beads have also been found. The Sarnath museum preserves one such. It belongs to 11th century A.D. It measures 8 in. crosswise.

(*e*) Some Pot Sherds the inner and not the outer surface of which are of light green colour and are as if enamelled. They are still well-polished. Similar Sherds were recently discovered in Mahanad by Mr. P. C. Paul, Archæologist. They were used in the Pâla period.

(*f*) Terra-cotta.

Some small hard marbles, a little figure of horse and a very small image of a meditating face have been found there."

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ONE HUNDRED AND ONE NAMES OF PRĀṆA IN VEDIC LITERATURE

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Yāska in his *Nirukta*, Naighaṇṭuka kāṇḍa, ii. 24, speaks of 101 names of water (उदकनामानि उत्तराणि एकशतम्) and the list is given in the current text of the *Nighaṇṭu*. Following that analogy and from the same sources as supplied the basic material compiled in the *Nighaṇṭu* an attempt is made here to bring together the varied material relating to the names and attributes of Prāṇa. By way of illustration only 101 phrases expressing different aspects of Prāṇa are selected here, but it would be possible to augment the list further if notice were taken of the comprehensive material that is embodied in the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upanishads on this subject.

Such an attempt is likely to serve one useful purpose. It will result in a considerable re-enforcement of the *ādhyātmic* point of view, and in focussing attention on the tradition of the Ādhyatma-vid School of Vedic interpretation. This school emphasizing the esoteric side of Vedic meanings is frequently referred to by Yāska. That it once enjoyed wide popularity and was in a flourishing condition is amply borne out by the existing Brahmanical literature, where the phrase इत्यध्यात्मम् is of common occurrence. The following exposition will reveal how the ancient themselves approached the secret of the hymns. It represents their point of view, and as such not only does it merit attention but it also supplies a corrective to some of the fallacies of our modern attempts in approaching Vedic thought. Dr. Coomaraswamy remarks that 'modern interpretations of Vedic texts are again and again contaminated by a projection of contemporary interests, feelings and modes of thought into a life of quite another order'[1].

It is truly scientific to try to understand the hymns in the light in which their composers intended them to be understood. The *ādhyātmic* view is an attempt in that direction. The exegetical results of modern scholarship would remain incomplete unless due notice is also taken of the material relating to esoteric meanings interwoven in the explanations of the Brahmanic writers.

The science of Vedic studies deserves a new orientation. Dr. E. J. Thomas lately remarked in his Foreword to the *Vedic Gods*

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[1] *A Note on the Asvamedha*, p. 306.

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that the state of Vedic interpretation 'looks like a case of stalemate, where no theory can claim general acceptance. Even when we think of German scholars, Ludwig, Kaegi, Pischel, Geldner, Oldenberg, or of the French school Bergaigne, Regnaud, Henry, it cannot be said that Vedic studies are in a healthy state'. Appreciating Dr. Rele's attempt in putting forward a biological view of Vedic deities, Dr. Thomas has neatly summed up the position by saying that 'It will help the scholars of India to realize as we are learning in the West, that the great problem is not yet solved.' We cannot but see that the *ādhyātmic* view is deeply rooted in the orthodox tradition of the ancient exegetical works, and time has now come when that material should be redeemed according to the recognized canons of modern critical research.[1]

One word about the conception of Prāṇa itself is necessary. It symbolizes '*Breath, Vital Spirit or Life.*'[2] Prāṇa in reality is the most mysterious Force with which we are acquainted on this side of our earth. It is Nature's own Self made manifest in numerous forms functioning both through the cosmos and the microcosm. It is to be identified as the paramount principle underlying the various cosmic phenomena, the mysterious *something* which permeates all creation, and the sole immortal essence which separates the deathless from that which is subject to decay.

NAMES and their Explanations.

1. प्राण = अमृत। उभयं वैतदग्रे प्रजापतिरास मर्त्यं चैवामृतं च।
तस्य प्राणा एवामृता आसुः, शरीरं मर्त्यम्।
.....तथैवैतद्यजमान उभयमेव भवति मर्त्यं
चैवामृतं च। तस्य प्राणा एवामृता भवन्ति
शरीरं मर्त्यम्। [शतपथ १०।१।४।१]

i.e. Prajāpati in the beginning was composed of both the mortal and the immortal essences—his vital airs alone were immortal, his body mortal.—Similarly the Yajamāna is both mortal and immortal —his vital airs are immortal, his body mortal.

Also अमृतं वै प्राणः [Kausītakī Br., II. 4].

प्राणोऽमृतम् [Śatapatha, 10. 2, 6. 18].

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[1] The Vedas and Adhyātma Traditions, by V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, p. 289.

[2] Griffith, *Atharvaveda*, XI, 4.

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2. प्राण = वायु। According to the well-known passage in the *Aitareya Up.* giving the correspondence of the cosmic and micro-cosmic powers, Vāyu inheres in the body as Prāṇa [वायुः प्राणो भूत्वा नासिके प्राविशत्, I. 2. 4].

Other references are: यस्य प्राणो वायुरक्षः [जै० उप० ब्रा० १।२९।१]; वायुर्हि प्राणः [ऐतरेय ब्रा० २।२६]; प्राणा उ वा वायुः [शतपथ ८।४।१।८]; यः स प्राणोऽयमेव स वायुर्योऽयं पवते १०।३।३।७]. The identity of प्राण and वायु is universally recognized in the Vedic literature and supported by innumerable passages from later literature.

3. प्राण = अग्नि। This meaning is eloquently brought out in a dialogue between धीर शातपर्णेय and महाशाल जाबाल recorded in the शतपथ ब्राह्मण [१०।३।३।५-६]. The former says, 'The Agni who is everything here, him I know'. On hearing this, the latter said, 'Teach me that Agni, Sir!'

स होवाच। प्राणो वाव सोऽग्निर्यदा वै पुरुषः स्वपिति प्राणं तर्हि वागप्येति, प्राणं चक्षुः, प्राणं मनः, प्राणꣳ श्रोत्रं, यदा प्रबुध्यते प्राणादेवाधि पुनर्जायन्त इत्यध्यात्मम्। It asserts that *Prāṇa* is that *Agni*,

प्राणो वा अग्निः [श० २।२।२।१५]

प्राणा अग्निः [श० ६।३।१।२१; ६।८।२।१०].

The three sacrificial fires, viz. आहवनीय, गार्हपत्य, अन्वाहार्यपचन, correspond to the three fires inside the body symbolized by the triply differentiated प्राणः—

ते वा एते प्राणा एव यदग्नयः। प्राणोदानावेवाहवनीयश्च गार्हपत्यश्च, व्यानोऽन्वाहार्य-पचनः [शतपथ २।२।२।१८].

The प्रश्नोपनिषद् is more explicit in stating the above symbolism: प्राणाग्नय एवैतस्मिन्पुरे जाग्रति गार्हपत्यो ह वा एषोऽपानो व्यानोऽन्वाहार्यपचनो यद्वार्हपत्यात्प्रणीयते प्रणयनादाहवनीयः प्राणः [४।२].

4. प्राण as जागरित. The above quotation says that the lights of Prāṇa constantly keep awake or burning in this human city, viz. the body. The ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण supports this view: तदाहुः कोऽस्वप्नुमर्हति? यद्वाव प्राणो जागार तदेव जागरितमिति [१०।४।४]; explained by सायण very lucidly—यद्वाव यदेव प्राणो देहे वर्तमानः प्राणवायुः जागर्ति कदाचिदपि न स्वपिति। स हि जाग्रत्स्वप्नसुषुप्तिषु तिसृष्वप्यवस्थासु सर्वदा प्रबुद्ध एव वर्तते तदेव

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प्राणकर्तृकं जागरणमस्य यजमानस्य जागरितं जागरणमिति, i.e. when the breath is awake, then (the condition of) being awake is (fulfilled). [Caland, Tāṇḍya Br., p. 234.]

5. प्राण and अपान styled as अस्वप्नजसत्रसदेव. The above idea about the awakening of प्राण is obviously derived from its only source in the Yajurveda [३४।५५].

सप्त ऋषयः प्रतिहिताः शरीरे सप्त रक्षन्ति सदमप्रमादम् ।
सप्तापः स्वपतो लोकमीयुस्तत्र जाग्रतो अस्वप्नजौ सत्रसदौ च देवौ ॥

'Seven Ṛshis are established in the body: seven guard it evermore with care unceasing.

Seven waters (channels of energy) seek the world of him who lies asleep: two sleepless gods are *satra*-fellows of him who wakes.'

Two sleepless gods are Inbreath and Outbreath.

6. प्राणापानौ वै दैव्या होतारा [ऐतरेय ब्रा० २।४].

The eternal pair of celestial Hotars; they are the twin Aśvins, or Mitra and Varuna, or Agni and Aditya, who symbolize the terrestrial—celestial dual underlying all contrasted modes [*Cf.* Coomaraswamy's *The Ṛg Veda as Land-Náma-Bok*, p. 27, note 9.]

The Ṛgveda speaks of them in a laudatory strain [X. 66. 13],

दैव्या होतारा प्रथमा पुरोहित ऋतस्य पन्थामन्वेमि साधुया ।
क्षेत्रस्य पतिं प्रतिवेशमीमहे विश्वान्देवाँ अमृताँ अप्रयुच्छतः ॥

I righteously follow upon the path of Order the two divine Hotars, the Priests of primeval time. We pray to Kshetrapati who dwelleth near, and to the immortal gods who are for ever undefaulting. [The human body is the *kshetra*, and the *kshetrapati* is Ātmā.]

7. प्राणापानौ एवाध्वर्यू [गोपथ पू० २।११], i.e. the प्राणापान pair stands for the *adhvaryū* priests in the body-sacrifice [शरीरयज्ञ].

8. प्राणापानौ मित्रावरुणौ [तैत्तिरीय ३।३।६।६; ताण्ड्य ६।१०।५; ६।८।१६].

Also शतपथ ८।४।२।६—प्राणो वै मित्रोऽपानो वरुणः प्राणाय भागं कृत्वापानायाधिपत्यमकरोत्. These also manifest as day and night—अहर्वै मित्रो रात्रिर्वरुणः [ऐ० ४।१०], or bright and dark halves of the month [श० २।४।४।१८] or Heaven and Earth:—अयं वै लोको मित्रः, असौ (द्युलोकः) वरुणः [श० १२।९।२।१२].

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9. प्राणो वा अर्कः [ग्र० १०।४।१।२३ ; १०।६।२।७]. Prāṇa or Life is called *arka*, since it is Prāṇa that makes the body adorable or worthy of worship (अर्चनीय). As soon as Life departs, body is cast away as a despicable clod of earth.

10–12. प्राणा वै वसवः। प्राणा वै रुद्राः। प्राणा वा आदित्याः [जैमिनीय उपनिषद् ब्रा० ४।२।१-६].

This section gives a synopsis of human life in terms of the sacrificial session (पुरुषो वै यज्ञः) and compares the वसु period with प्रातःसवन or ब्रह्मचर्य period up to 24 years, the रुद्र period with माध्यन्दिन सवन or गृहस्थ period up to 44 years of life after the first, and the आदित्य period with सायं सवन or 48 years after the second, thus making a total of 116 years, i.e. the syllabic aggregate of the three metres, Gāyatrī, Trishṭup, and Jagatī. [See also छान्दोग्य उप० ३।१६ for a lucid explanation of the पुरुषयज्ञ.] Physiologically growth and maturity of the body are signified by these three well-defined stages, which the Purusha sūkta also styles as spring, summer and autumn,

वसन्तो अस्यासीदाज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद्धविः [X. 90. 6].

13. प्राणो रेतः [ऐ० २।३८]. Prāṇa is the seed, the primeval germ which creates and recreates numerous forms and continues the process of perennial fecundation and vegetation. Universal Nature, the Magna Mater [महीमाता], or Aditi the supreme divine mother is like the 'Dawn', senescent but ever young [पुराणी देवी युवतिः पुरन्धिः—Rg., III. 61. 1]. She is imbued with प्राण and procreates. The same story is repeated in the life-cycle of each individual. It is प्राण that bestows on us the seed of race whence manifold creatures are born. The प्राणसूक्त in the Atharvaveda attributes this virtue to प्राणः—

यत् प्राणस्तनयित्नुनाभिक्रन्दत्योषधीः।
प्र वीयन्ते गर्भान् दधतेथो बह्वीर्वि जायन्ते ॥ [XI. 4. 3.]

14. प्राणा वा आपः [तै० ३।२।५।२]; also तांड्य [६।६।४] प्राणा वा आपोऽमृतं हिरण्यममृत एवाऽस्य प्राणान् दधाति स सर्वमायुरेति, on which सायण says अन्नमयं हि सोम्य मन आपोमयः प्राण इति वयमधीमहे। आपो वै प्राणः [ग्र० ३।८।२।४।] and प्राणो ह्यापः [जै० उ० ३।१०।६]. The ऐतरेय उप० identifies आप् with रेत [आपो रेतो

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भूत्वा शिश्नं प्राविशन् २।४] and from Nos. 13, 14, 15 we can see the close relationship between आप्-प्राण-रेत and सोम.

15. प्राणः सोमः [ऋ० ७।३।१।२]; प्राणः (यज्ञस्य) सोमः [कौ० ९।६]. सोम like प्राण is another significant word in the system of Vedic thought. सोमो वै वृष्णो अश्वस्य रेतः [तै० ब्रा० ३।९।५।५] is evidently taken from Yajurveda categorically identifying सोम as the seminal humour of the powerful *Aśva* [अयं सोमो वृष्णो अश्वस्य रेतः २३।६२]. The *Aśva* is identified with *Surya* or *Dyauh*, a symbolical expression for the highest centre of thought in the human body. The head is also called द्योणकलश in sacrificial language, and the तांड्य ब्रा० [९।९।१] says, 'Whose सोम in the द्योणकलश becomes exhausted the प्राण of such a one becomes exhausted along with the exhaustion of the सोम in the कलश, for सोम is vitality'. Purity and abundance of Soma within the body cause radiant health. The nervous system, *arbor vitæ* [ओषधिवनस्पतीs], is saturated with सोम and derives its energy from this mysterious secretion. Compare also शिरो वै प्राणानां योनिः [ऋ० ७।५।१।२२].

16. चन्द्रमा वै प्राणः [जै० उ० ४।२२।११]. चन्द्र and सोम are synonymous, hence चन्द्र and प्राण are also one. Sun and moon represent only the dual aspect of प्राण pointed out under No. 8.

17. आदित्यो वै प्राणः [जै० उ० ४।२२।११]; उद्यन्न् खलु वा आदित्यः सर्वाणि भूतानि प्रणयति तस्मादेनं प्राण इत्याचक्षते [ऐ० ५।३१]. The morning sun is the storehouse of energy as it urges creatures to be up with activity. The Upanishads emphasize the *prāṇic* aspect of the sun :—

विश्वरूपं हरिणं जातवेदसं परायणं ज्योतिरेकं तपन्तम् ।
सहस्ररश्मिः शतधा वर्तमानः प्राणः प्रजानामुदयत्येष सूर्यः ॥

The Prāṇa in the body is the counterpart of the Prāṇa in the sun.

18. प्राणः प्रजापतिः [ऋ० ६।३।१।६]; also शतपथ [७।५।१।१६-२१] where the concomitance of प्राण and अन्न is elaborated and प्राण is spoken of as the nucleus (प्रजापति) round which the web of life is woven. Also Atharvaveda, प्राणो ह सूर्यश्चन्द्रमाः प्राणमाऽः प्रजापतिम् [११।४।१२].

19. प्राणो वाव कः [जै० उ० ४।२३।४]. Since प्राण is प्रजापति and प्रजापति is क in Vedic language, प्राण also is named क. The appellation क is very significant ; it refers to the unmanifest, unknowable or invisible form (अनिरुक्त रूप) of Prajāpati. That aspect is punctuated or marked

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by the sign of interrogation. Prajāpati for ever remains the Great Question [संप्रश्न], or the supreme secret veiled behind *ka*. Prāṇa also partakes of the mysterious nature denoted symbolically by क [अनिरुक्त उ वै प्रजापतिस्तत्प्राजापत्यं रूपं कवतीषु स्यात्। शांखायन आरण्यक २।१].

20. प्राणो वै मधु [श० १४।१।३।३०]. Prāṇa is honey, the sweet essence of everything alive. Whatever is bereft of प्राण, loses its mead.

In the Pravargya sacrifice the Adhvaryu establishes मधु in the महावीर cauldron, where मधु is repeated thrice to denote the three Prāṇas (त्रयो वै प्राणाः, प्राण उदानो व्यानः श० १४।१।३।३०), and where महावीर is the head. [यजु० ३७।१३; also शिरो वा एतद्यज्ञस्य यन्महावीरः, कौ० ८।३.]

21. प्राणो वा अर्णवः [श० ७।५।२।५१]. This and the subsequent meanings given in this context of the शतपथ are indispensable for an intelligent rendering of the Yajurveda mantra, XIII. 53. The Satapatha explains, 'प्राणो वा अर्णवः मनो वै समुद्रो मनसो वै समुद्राद् वाचा अभ्या देवास्त्रयीं विद्यां निरखनन्', i.e. प्राण is अर्णव, मन is समुद्र. From the ocean of mind, with speech for a shovel, the gods dug out the triple science.

22. प्राणो वै तनूनपात् स हि तन्वं पाति [ऐ० २।४]. Prāṇa upholds the body, absence of प्राण would make the body collapse, hence प्राण is etymologically called तनूनपात्.

23. प्राणो हि वै त्रातं। त्रायते हैनं प्राणः क्षणितोः [शतपथ १४।८।१४।४]. प्राण is apparently the guardian of the body, protector from disease and decay.

24. प्राणो वै गोपाः। स हीदं सर्वमनिपद्यमानो गोपायति [जै० उ० ३।३७।२]. Sections 35, 36, 37 of the 3rd *adhyāya* of the जैमिनीय उपनिषद् ब्राह्मण are devoted to explain the three verses of *sūkta* 177, Ṛg. X. This portion of the Brāhmaṇa is a model of what an esoteric commentary on the Ṛgveda drawn from the rich storehouse of ancient exegetical material would be like. The *devatā* of the hymn is मायाभेद ['the discernment of māyā, or illusion (the cause of material creation)'.—Wilson]. The abstruse hymn would have remained unintelligible without the aid of the explanations offered in this section of the Brāhmaṇa. The definitions for प्राण are given below.

25. प्राणो वै पतङ्गः। पतन्निव ह्येष्वङ्गेष्वेति रथमुदीक्षते पतङ्ग इत्याचक्षते। असुरस्य मायेति। मनो वा असुरम्। तद्यसुषु रमते। [जै० उ० ३।३५], i.e. Prāṇa is पतंग and mind is असुर.

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26. प्राणो वै गन्धर्वः, पुरुष उ गर्भः [जै० उ० ३।३६।३]. Prāṇa is the Gandharva which causes *vāk* or the material cause to be deposited within the womb of Purusha. Prāṇa as the seed proceeds first and then the body develops from that germ.

27. प्राण = पुरुष। प्राण एष स पुरि शेते तं पुरि शेत इति पुरिशयं सन्तं पुरुष इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवा भवन्ति प्रत्यक्षद्विषः [गो० पू० १।३९]. The self [body] is the city within which Prāṇa dwells; hence they choose to call प्राण as पुरुष from its title पुरिशय, since the gods have a fondness for the mystical explanations and dislike that which is overt.

28. प्राणो वै यज्ञस्य उद्गाता [श० १४।६।१।८]. The Jaiminiya Upanishad Brāhmaṇa [१।२२।५] also supports this view:—त य एवेमे मुख्याः प्राणा एत एवोद्गातारश्चोपगातारश्च, i.e. the principal vital airs are the singers and their assistants.

29–31. प्राण is identified with the three Vedas, Rik, Sāma, and Yajur. The triple knowledge is symbolical of the triple order of creation, also called the 'three cities' (*tripura*) what in later philosophy were known as the three *guṇas*. The three Vedas are spoken of in terms of the three worlds पृथिवी-अन्तरिक्ष द्यौः, the three deities अग्नि-वायु-आदित्य and so on. [*Cf.* the description of the लिंगवती, भास्वती, अधिपतिवती, मुखवती, विज्ञानवती, लोकवती, कालवती, प्रतापवती, आप्यायनवती, प्राणवती तनूs in मैत्री उप० ६।५ for the Vedic triad.] The शतपथ gives यजु, साम, ऋक् as synonyms of प्राणः—प्राणो वै यजुः, प्राणो ह्येमानि सर्वाणि भूतानि युज्यन्ते [१४।८।१४।२]; प्राणो वै साम प्राणे ह्येमानि सर्वाणि भूतानि सम्यञ्चि [१४।८।१४।३]; प्राणो वा ऋक् प्राणेन ह्यर्चति [श० ७।५।२।१२].

32. प्राणो वै ग्रहाः [श० ४।२।४।१३], i.e. Prāṇa is symbolized by the *graha* cups in the sacrifice. The *grahas* are used for drinking *soma* and Prāṇa also is the medium for taking in *somic* energy. Again the senses are the various sacrificial cups, and the senses are different manifestations of one Prāṇa called Indra (see No. 39), therefore Prāṇa and *grahas* are identified.

33. प्राणो वै पिता [ऐ० २।३८]. Prāṇa is the chief protector.

Again in comparing Prāṇa, Manas and Vāk, Prāṇa is called the Bull (the fertilizer), Vāk the cow or the mother and the mind as the calf or the offspring.

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34. प्राणो वै होता [ऐ० ६।८]. Prāṇa is the होट priest for this body constantly offering the oblations of the inbreath and outbreath.

35. प्राणो वै हितं। प्राणो हि सर्वेभ्यो भूतेभ्यो हितः [श० ६।१।२।१४]. Prāṇa is the truly good friend, favourably disposed towards all creatures.

36. प्राणा वै सखा भक्षः [श० १।८।१।२३]. Prāṇa is the friendly feaster; we ever invite him as the most intimate guest to our feasts.

37. प्राणो वै समञ्चनप्रसारणं। यस्मिन्वा अंगे प्राणो भवति तत्सं चाञ्चति प्र च सारयति [श० ८।१।४।१०]. Prāṇa is the force that causes contraction or expansion. The limb that is endowed with Prāṇa can contract or expand. The world-process is also spoken of in terms of contraction into and expansion from the self-existent Being.

38. प्राण इन्द्रियाणि [तांड्य २।१४।२]. The seven *grāmya* animals are here compared with the seven vital airs in the head [सप्त शिरसि प्राणाः, see also शतपथ १३।२।४।१]. The senses are the agents or sparks of the central energy called इन्द्र or मुख्य प्राण [प्राण एवेन्द्रः श० १२।६।१।१४].

39. स योऽयं मध्ये प्राणः। एष एवेन्द्रस्तानेष प्राणान्मध्यत इन्द्रियेणैन्द्ध तस्मादिन्ध इन्धो ह वै तमिन्द्र इत्याचक्षते परोक्षम् [श० ६।१।१।२], i.e. 'This same vital air in the midst doubtless is Indra. He by his power kindled those other vital airs from the midst; and inasmuch as he kindled, he is the kindler (इन्ध): the इन्ध is mystically called इन्द्र'.

40. प्राणा वै प्रयाजानुयाजास्ते य इमे शीर्षन्प्राणास्ते प्रयाजाः, येऽवाञ्चस्तेऽनुयाजाः [ऐ० १।१७]. The प्राणाः are the प्रयाज and अनुयाज of the sacrifice.

The upper Prāṇas in the head are the प्रयाजाs and the lower Prāṇas below the head are the अनुयाजाs. Also, प्राणा वै प्रयाजा, अपाना अनुयाजाः [कौ० ४।१]. The division of पुरुष into upper and lower, i.e. immortal and mortal, is also emphasized in शतपथ, यदस्यामृतमूर्ध्वं तन्नाभेः, ऊर्ध्वं प्राणैरुच्चरति तदायुमप्येति। अथ यन्मर्त्यं पराक् तन्नाभिमत्येति, तद्दृयं भूत्वा इमामप्येति मूत्रं च पुरीषं च [श० १०।१।१।११]. The former is technically called चितेनिधेय and the latter or the mortal portion चित्य अग्नि. [शतपथ १०।१।३।१-२] says that प्रजापति created the *Devas* from his upper Prāṇas (= प्रायाजाः) and the *Asurās* from the lower (= अनुयाजाः). The two together make up the cosmic rhythm. The *Nirukta* gives an important note on the esoteric meanings of the terms प्रयाजानुयाज which bears quotation:—

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'आग्नेया वै प्रयाजा आग्नेया अनुयाजा' इति च ब्राह्मणम्। छन्दोदेवता इत्यपरम्। 'छन्दांसि प्रयाजाश्छन्दांस्यनुयाजा' इति च ब्राह्मणम्। ऋतुदेवता इत्यपरम्। 'ऋतवो वै प्रयाजाः पशवोऽनुयाजा' इति च ब्राह्मणम्। प्राणदेवता इत्यपरम् 'प्राणा वै प्रयाजा अपाना अनुयाजा' इति च ब्राह्मणम्। आत्मदेवता इत्यपरम्। 'आत्मा वै प्रयाजा आत्मा वा अनुयाजा' इति च ब्राह्मणम् [निरुक्त, दैवतकाण्ड, ९।२२].

41. प्राणो वै हरिः। स हि हरति तस्माद् हरिवान् भवति [कौ० १७।१]. The two horses of Indra are called हरी [निरुक्त quoting निघण्टु ७२।२८]. Ṛgveda I. 161. 6, इन्द्रो हरी युयुजे अश्विना रथम्, Indra yoked his Bays (हरी) and the Aśvins their car. The horses are प्राणापान, and the car is the body. Ṛg. I. 82 urges Indra to yoke his Bay steeds with the burden of the song योजान्विन्द्र ते हरी. In that *sūkta* [१।८२।४] Indra's गोविन्द वसण रथ signifying the body is referred to, and the whole hymn is full of *adhyātma* strain. [For body as a chariot, see Kaṭha Up.]

42. प्राणो वै संवत्सरः [तां० ५।१०।३]. The year is the cause of life-cycle in creatures.

43. प्राणो वै बृहदपानो रथन्तरम् [ताण्ड्य ७।६।१७]. These are the names of two *sāmans* representing a pair, as ऋक्-साम or मन-वाक् or द्यावापृथिवी.

44. प्राणो वा अकूध्रीचः [कौ० ८।५; १८।४]. This rare word occurs only in the Kaushitakī Brāhmaṇa and once in the Ṛgveda [अकुध्र्यक् १०।२२।१२] where it means 'not profitless'. It is the name of प्राण since the latter is a सध्रीच companion. The axle of Aśvin's car is spoken of as अकूध्रीच having the sense of 'infallible'. प्राण also is an infallible trustworthy friend.

45. प्राणा वै महिषाः [श्र० ६।७।४।५] 'अपामुपस्थे महिषा अवर्धन्' [यजु १२।२०] is the passage where this definition applies. Griffith says bulls (or, the Mighty Ones; the Maruts—which are better renderings) and Eggeling [Śat., part III, p. 284] translates as buffaloes. The meaning, however, is, 'O Agni, the vital airs increased thee in the lap of the waters'. In later literature महिष appears as an *āsuric* or riotous form of energy.

46. प्राणो वै रुक्, प्राणेन हि रोचते [श्र० ७।५।२।१२]. Prāṇa makes one appear resplendent.

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47. प्राणो वै सुसन्दृक् [तै० १।६।८।६]. Beautiful to look at, is usually an epithet of Agni. प्राण also is a name of अग्नि, and therefore praised as सुसन्दृक्.

48. प्राणो वै युवा सुवासाः [ऐ० २।२]. The Youth decorated with ribands is the vital air (the soul), which is covered by the limbs of the body [M. Hang], i.e. the body is the garment or vestige of प्राण; this oft-repeated comparison is known in Indian literature from earliest times.

49. प्राणा वै वामम् [श० ७।४।२।३५]. The vital airs are lovable wished for by all (वननीय). This earth bears everything that breathes, and for that reason this earth is the beaıer of what is lovable...Speech is the bearer of vital airs, showing the intimate relation between वाक् and प्राण.

50. प्राणा वै सजाताः प्राणैर्हि सह जायते [श० १।८।१।१५]. Clear.

51. प्राणो वै सुशर्मा सुप्रतिष्ठानः [श० ४।४।१।१४]. This sense applies to Yajur, VIII. 8. Well-established of inviolable seat is the प्राण called सुशर्मा, it is a characteristic of प्राण endowed with ब्रह्मवर्चस् amongst Brāhmaṇas. This word occurs in the verse 'सुत्रामाणं पृथिवीं द्यामनेहसं सुशर्माणमदितिं सुप्रणीतिम्। दैवीं नावं स्वरित्रामनागसमस्रवन्तीमारुहेमा स्वस्तये' [Rg. १०।६३।१०; Yaju. २१।६; Atharva ७।६।३]. Here the divine boat is the ship of Life. [*Cf.* Coomaraswamy's *The Ṛg Veda as Land-Náma-Bok*, p. 5.] 'Dedicated to Indra (the soul) of mighty succour, rooted to Earth and apexed in Heaven, incomparable, endowed with vital airs, good guide, well-oared (the senses are the oars), may we ascend for bliss the sinless and riftless divine Boat.'

52. प्राणो वै ज्योतिः [श० ८।३।२।१४]. Prāṇa is light as opposed to darkness. The gods worship प्राण or light, the Asuras prosper in darkness. The शतपथ [५।१।२।१०] directs that light and darkness both proceed from Prajāpati, but should not be confused:—

प्रजापते र्वा एते अन्धसी यत्सोमश्च सुरा च। ततः सत्यं श्रीर्ज्योतिः सोमः। अनृतं पाप्मा तमः सुरा [श० ५।१।२।१०]; also नेज्ज्योतिश्च तमश्च संसृजावेति [श० ५।१।२।१७]. *Cf.* Śatapatha, XIV. 1. 1. 31.

53. प्राणो वै विश्वज्योतिः [श० ७।४।२।२८]. विश्वज्योति is the name of one single brick in the इष्टका चिति for constructing the आहवनीय altar. इष्टकाचितिs are immortal and पुरीषचितिs are mortal; the one is

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more permanent than the other. Śatapatha Rahasya Kāṇḍa [१०।१।४।१-८] deals with both these layers; the former are but forms of प्राण, and the latter of material constituents of the body, viz. marrow, bone, nerve, muscle, fat, blood and skin. In the अग्निचयन amongst other bricks विश्वज्योति is a form of प्राणाः—विश्वस्मै प्राणायापानाय व्यानाय विश्वं ज्योतिर्यच्छ [यजु १३।२४], i.e. Prajāpati settled the विश्वज्योति for universal प्राण, अपान and व्यान in his scheme of creation of which the model is the *Agnichayana*.

54. प्राणाः शिक्यं। प्राणैर्ह्यात्मा शक्नोति स्थातुं। यच्छक्नोति तस्माच्छिक्यम् [शत० ६।७।१।२०]. उख्य अग्नि is the model of the embodied self. The netting is the vital airs, for by means of the vital airs that self is able to exist; and inasmuch as it is so able therefore the netting is called शिक्य. It is furnished by six strings, because there are six vitals airs. The interdependence of the mind and food is also shown by the maintenance of the body. 'The mind is its foundation, for on the mind this body is founded,—and food (अन्न) is the connecting link, for to food this body is linked by means of the vital airs. [शतपथ ६।७।१।२१]. The Nirukta takes a similar view of the relationship of body and प्राणाः—इदमपीतरद् बुध्नमेतस्मादेव बद्धा अस्मिन्धृताः प्राणाः [१०।४४], i.e. the body is also called बुध्न for the प्राणाः are kept tethered therein.

55. प्राणो वै हिरण्यम् [शत० ७।५।२।८]. Prāṇa is of the nature of gold; gold is symbolical of radio-active substances [आग्नेयं वै हिरण्यम् तै० २।२।५।२]. The sun is called हिरण्यगर्भ [ऋ० १०।१२१।१; यजु० १३।४], the golden germ which first came into existence. [शत० ७।४।१।१९.] हिरण्य is also a synonym of रेतस् [तै० ३।८।२।४], आयु [तै० १।८।६।१], अमृत [तै० १।७।६।३; शत० १०।४।१।६]; तां० ६।६।४], अमृत आयु [immortal life] [शत० ३।८।२।२७; ४।५।२।१०], वर्च, तेज, शुक्र, चन्द्र, ज्योति, etc. The immortal element in the body that is indicative of lustre, life or beauty is हिरण्य, i.e. प्राण.

56. प्राणो वै रं प्राणे हीमानि सर्वाणि भूतानि रतानि [शत० १४।८।१३।३]. All creatures love the Prāṇa, it is therefore symbolically called रं. The शतपथ repeats the same idea in another place:—अथ पुरुषमुपदधाति। स प्रजापतिः। सोऽग्निः। स यजमानः। स हिरण्मयो भवति ज्योतिर्वै हिरण्यम्। ज्योतिरग्निः। अमृतꣳ हिरण्यं। अमृतमग्निः। पुरुषो भवति पुरुषो हि प्रजापतिः

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[प्र० ७।४।१।१५]. The immortal, resplendent, and golden पुरुष is the प्राणमय form of all beings, and the प्राणमय शरीर is the pleasing form (रम्या तनू) in which the gods like to dwell:—तद्यदस्यैतस्यां रम्यायां तन्वां देवा अरमन्त तस्माद् 'हि रम्यं'। हि रम्यं ह वै तत् हिरण्यमित्याचक्षते परोक्षं, परोक्षकामा हि देवा.....प्राणो वा अस्य रम्या तनूः [प्र० ७।४।१।१६]. In simple language it means that the प्राणमय कोष is technically called हिरण्मय पुरुष, which forms the divine constituent of our body and is the cause of its beauty and lustre (श्री-ज्योति). *Cf.* यश्चायमस्यां पृथिव्यां तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः पुरुषः, अयमेव स योऽयमात्मा इदममृतमिदं ब्रह्मेदꣳ सर्वम् [प्र० १४।५।५।१].

57. प्राणा वै सत्यम् [प्र० १४।५।१।२३]. The Great Atman is called सत्यस्य सत्यम् because it is the upholder of प्राण. Prāṇa is the substratum of all creatures: यथा अग्नेः क्षुद्रा विष्फुलिङ्गाः...एवमेवास्मादात्मनः सर्वे, प्राणाः. प्राण represents the undecaying [सत्य] element and body symbolizes the perishable [अनृत]. This analogy is pushed forward by saying that the देवाs are सत्य, the mortals are अनृत [सत्यमेव देवा अनृतं मनुष्याः—प्र० १।१।१।४; १।१।२।१७; ३।३।२।२; ३।९।४।१]. The whole doctrine of यज्ञ is based on this fundamental division of Truth and Falsehood:

इदमहमनृतात् सत्यमुपैमि [यजु० १।५].

The यजमान consecrates his life to truth, to the worship of the divine, immortal essence, and takes a vow to cast away untruth or the mortal form. In other words this contrasted pair represents the दिव्य and मानुष भाव.

58. प्राणा देवाः [प्र० ६।३।१।१५]. This is practically the gist of many other attributes given to प्राण. The vital airs represent the divine part of our being, and the deities in nature are but expressions of the spirit of the Universal Being. Prajāpati is twofold, mortal and immortal, the deities are his latter form. [*Cf.* also शतपथ ६।१।२।११.]

59. प्राणा वा ऋषयः [प्र० ६।१।१।१; ऐ० २।२७]. 'Verily, in the beginning there was here the non-existent. As to this they say, "What was that non-existent?" The Ṛshis, assuredly,—it is they that were the non-existent. As to this they say, "Who were those Ṛshis?" The Ṛshis, doubtless, were the vital airs: inasmuch as before (the existence) of this universe, they, desiring it, wore

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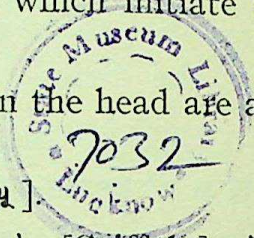
themselves out (रिष्) with toil and austerity, therefore (they are called) Ṛshis.' [Eggeling, Śat., part III, p. 143.]

The argument is this,—the प्राणाs were असत् Ṛshis from which the सत् came into being. Just as there is no जाति in जाति [सामान्ये सामान्याभावः], similarly there is no सत् in सत्. Since the universe is सत्, the प्राणाs as the cause *in principio* are असत्, which initiate the world order by their own sacrifice.



Besides in many places the seven vital airs in the head are also called the seven Ṛshis, e.g.

सप्त ऋषयः प्रतिहिताः शरीरे [यजु० ३४।५५].

'Seven Ṛshis: here meaning the vital breathings.' [Griffith.] The deity of the hymn is अध्यात्मं प्राणाः.

The बृहदारण्यक उप० [२।२।३-४] gives details of these seers, viz. गोतम-भरद्वाज (two ears), विश्वामित्र-जमदग्नि (two eyes), वशिष्ठ-कश्यप (two nostrils) and अत्रि (tongue). The head is that inverted bowl in which these seven dwell. (शिर एष हि अर्वाग्बिलश्चमस ऊर्ध्वबुध्नः.)

60. प्राण as a synonym of Ṛshi names: Dr. Keith has observed on Aitareya Āraṇyaka [II. 2] that this Khaṇḍa shows that the names of the seers of the Ṛgveda can be deduced from *prāṇa's* actions. In other words the seers are not 'individuals'. [*Cf.* Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Ṛg Veda as Land-Náma-Bok*, note 19, p. 29.] प्राण is inherent in the image of all Ṛshis who saw the hymns. The ऐतरेय आरण्यक treats the subject in great detail. The गृत्समद sages, seers of the first maṇḍala, are names of प्राण; so also गृत्समद [गृत्स = प्राण, मद = अपान, तदुभयावतारो मुनिः गृत्समदः], विश्वामित्र [तस्य प्राणदेवस्य भोक्तृरिदं विश्वं भोग्यत्वेन मित्रम्], वामदेव [वागादयो देवा अब्रुवन् अयं प्राणः नो वननीयः वामः, देवेषु मध्ये वाम इति श्रुत्यत्त्या वामदेव नाम], अत्रि [पाप्मनो त्रायत रक्षितवान् तस्मादत्रिः], भरद्वाज [प्रजा वै वाजस्ता एव बिभर्ति], वसिष्ठ [देवा अब्रुवन्नयं वै नः सर्वेषां वसिष्ठः, स्वप्रवेशेनात्यन्तं निवासहेतुः], and so on. See also, Yaju. XIII. 54–58 for correspondence between names of Ṛshis and the five senses (प्राण, मन, चक्षु, श्रोत्र, वाक्) enumerated in Vedic literature.

61. प्राणा वा साध्या देवाः [श० १०।२।२।३].

62. प्राणा वै विश्वे देवाः [श० १४।२।२।३७].

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63. प्राणा धियः [ग्र० ६।३।१।१३] explains यजु [११।१] युञ्जानः प्रथमं मनस्तत्त्वाय सविता धियः, in which सविता is mind, and धी is the vital airs. The mind harnesses the vital airs. This doctrine was later elaborated in the Yoga system of thought. This meaning of धियः also suits the गायत्रीमन्त्र in which सविता is invoked for stimulating and energizing the vital sheath of the body.

64. प्राण = स्रुव। वाग्वै स्रुक् प्राणाः स्रुवः। वाचा च वै प्राणेन चैतदग्रे देवा कर्माण्यैच्छन्...यो वै प्रजापतिरासीदेष स स्रुवः। प्राणो वै स्रुवः, प्राणः प्रजापतिरथ या सा वागासीदेषा सा स्रुग्योषा वै वाग्योषा स्रुक् [ग्र० ६।३।१।६-८]. स्रुक् and स्रुवा are used in the sacrifice, they represent वाक् and प्राण or the female and male principles. प्राण एव स्रुवः, सोऽयं प्राणः सर्वाण्यङ्गान्यनुसंचरति। तस्मादु स्रुवः सर्वा अनु स्रुचः संचरति [ग्र० १।३।२।३].

65-66. प्राणा वै देवा वयोनाधाः प्राणैर्ह्येदं सर्वं वयुनं नद्धम् [ग्र० ८।२।२।८]. प्राणाs are the वयोनाध deities, for by them all *vayunas* are sustained. वय, वयुन, वयोनाध are three important terms of which वयुन means an object (पदार्थ). Each object is the manifested form of energy keeping its compactness according to a definite vibratory rhythm. The energy comprehended is called वय [प्राणो वै वयः ऐतरेय १।२८]. The rhythm or metre is called वयोनाध, which holds together the वय. When the particular rhythm is disturbed the object disintegrates. The object thus kept together is called वयुन. The शतपथ identifies वयोनाध with प्राण and छन्द according to the characterisitic Brahmanical style.

67. प्राणा रश्मयः [तै० ३।२।५।२].

68. प्राणा एव गयाः [ग्र० १४।८।१५।७]. गय is the name of प्राण and also सोम [गोपथ, पू० ५।१४].

69. प्राणो वै ऋषद् [ग्र० ६।७।३।११] same as पुरिशय [dwelling within the bodies of men].

70. प्राणो वा अंगिराः [ग्र० ६।५।२।३]. प्राण is Aṅgiras, सर्वेभ्योऽङ्गेभ्यो रसोऽक्षरत् सोऽङ्गरसोऽभवत्तं वा एतमंगरसं सन्तमङ्गिरा इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण [गो० पू० १।७]. The sap that flowed forth from all limbs is mystically called अंगिरस्. From whichever limb the vital sap is drained that limb withers [सोऽयास्य आङ्गिरसोऽङ्गानां हि रसः प्राणो वा अङ्गानां रसः प्राणो हि वा अंगानां रसः। तस्माद्यस्मात्कस्माच्चांगात्प्राण उत्क्रामति तदेवतच्छुष्यत्येष हि वा अंगानां रसः—बृ० उ० १।३।८].

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71. प्राणो वै यशोवीर्यम् [ग्र० १०।६।५।६] 'Glory and vigour' are the vital airs. When they depart the body begins to inflate [प्राणा वै यशोवीर्यं तत्प्राणेषूत्क्रान्तेषु शरीरꣳ श्वयितुमध्रियत].

72. प्राणो वा अपानो व्यानस्त्रिस्रो देव्यः [ऐ० २।४]. The three goddesses generally enumerated are इडा भारती सरस्वती; here they are प्राण, अपान and व्यान the three vital currents. Probably these in later literature become इडा-पिंगला-सुषुम्णा.

73. प्राणो वै पृषदाज्यम् [ग्र० ३।८।४।८]. Also in the तैत्तिरीय संहिता ३।२।६।२ [प्राणो वै एतस्य स्कन्दति यस्य पृषदाज्यं स्कन्दति]. An important use of this word is found in the Purusha sūkta [यजु ३१।६; also ऋक् १०।९०।८].

74. प्राणाः पशवः [तै० ३।२।८।९]. It is said in the above that in the general sacrifice of the cosmic Purusha, the dripping fat was accumulated and from that the पशुs were created; of course referring to the differentiated states of प्राण.

75. प्राणा वै ग्रावाणः [ग्र० १४।२।२।३३]. The pressing-stones are the vital airs within the body which act upon the food (अन्न or सोम) that is eaten everyday.

76. प्राणा वै समिधः, प्राणैर्ह्येयं पुरुषः समिद्धः [ग्र० १।५।४।१]. The sacrificial fuel is प्राण. The reference to त्रिःसप्त समिधः in the cosmic dismemberment of पुरुष signifies the thrice seven प्राण forces.

77. प्राणः स्थूणा [बृ० उ० २।२।१]. प्राण is the pillar that upholds the bodily structure.

78. प्राणा वै धुरः [तां० १४।९।१८]. The yokes support the cart, as the प्राणाs support the living being. [Caland.]

79. प्राणो भरतः [ऐ० २।२४]. Also शतपथ—एष (अग्निः) उ वा इमाः प्रजाः प्राणो भूत्वा बिभर्ति तस्माद्वेवाह भरतवदिति [ग्र० १।५।१।८].

Bharata is a name of Agni or Prāṇa since it sustains the creatures.

80. प्राणा वै भुजः [ग्र० ७।५।१।२२] अन्न is भुजिष्य. प्राण is the eater (अत्ता or अन्नाद) and the opposite of it is भुजिष्य or food. इयं वा इदमत्ता चैवाद्यं च [ग्र० १०।६।२।१]. The relation subsisting between प्राण and अन्न is repeatedly emphasized: अन्नं ब्रह्मेत्येक आऽऊस्तन्न तथा पूयति वा अन्नमत्ते प्राणात्प्राणो

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ब्रह्म इत्येक आऽऊस्तन्न तथा शुष्यति वै प्राण ऋतेऽन्नादेते ह न्येव देवते एकधाभूयं भूत्वा परमतां गच्छतः [ग्र० १४।८।१३।१]. Also प्राणोऽन्नेन गृहीतो यो ह्येवान्नमत्ति स प्राणिति [ग्र० ७।५।१।१६], i.e. the vital air is dependent on food, for he who eats food, breathes.

Admittedly assimilation is a sign of life.

81. प्राणो वै कूर्मः, प्राणो ह्येमाः सर्वा प्रजाः करोति [ग्र० ७।५।१।७]. Prāṇa is कूर्म प्रजापति as it makes all these creatures. This philosophical idea was later developed into the legend of tortoise incarnation [कूर्मावतार]. The head is also called कूर्म since it first comes into being and then creates other limbs [ग्र० ७।५।१।३५].

82. प्राणा वै ब्रह्म [तै० ३।२।८।८] प्राणो वै ब्रह्म [ग्र० १४।६।१०।२] प्राणो वै सम्राट् परमं ब्रह्म [ग्र० १४।६।१०।३]. The शांखायन आरण्यक quotes the views of two great teachers: प्राणो ब्रह्मेति ह स्माऽऽ ह कौषीतकिः [४।१]; प्राणो ब्रह्मेति ह स्माऽऽ ह पैङ्ग्यः [४।२].

83. एष वश्वी दीप्ताग्र उद्गीथ यत्प्राणः [जै० उ० २।४।१]. Prāṇa is the all controlling chant, the universal music that permeates the spheres.

84. प्राण एव हि पुरूरवाः. This Brāhmaṇa वाक्य under the caption 'विज्ञायते हि' is quoted by दुर्गाचार्य on निरुक्त [१०।४६] and explained स बऽऊधा रोरूयते स्तनयति तेनासौ पुरूरवाः.

85. दिशो वै प्राणाः [जै० उ० ४।२२।११]. The meaning is important for suggesting a new line of explaining the मनसा परिक्रमा hymns in which the six quarters are mentioned.

86. प्राणो वाव संवर्गः [छान्दोग्य उ० ४।३।३].

87. प्राण एव प्रज्ञात्मा [कौ० ३।२].

88. अहरेव प्राणो रात्रिरेव रयिः [प्रश्न० १।१३].

89. व्रात्य = प्राण [प्रश्न २।११]. Prāṇa is called व्रात्य, because being inherently pure it needs no other sacraments or *saṁskāras*; as such it stands outside the range of purificatory ceremonies.

90. प्राणः ऋषभो मनो वत्सः [बृ० ५।८।१]. Of the विराज् Cow, प्राण is the Lord and मनस् the Calf. Cow symbolizes universal nature. Other philosophers inverted the relation and took मनः as the bull and प्राण as

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the calf. The difference in the two views may be reconciled by the two lines of approach to Yoga either through the control of प्राण or mind.

91. प्राणो वै स्वरः [तां २४।११।९]. The vowels are प्राण, the immortal form of शब्दब्रह्म, and the consonants the mortal form.

92. प्राण एव पुरोनुवाक्या, अपानो याज्या, व्यानः शस्या [शु० १४।९।१।१२]. These three kinds of verses used in recitation in the sacrifice have reference to the functions of the three vital airs named above.

93. प्राणो वा स्वयमातृण्णा। प्राणो ह्येवैतत्स्वयमात्मन आतृन्ते [शु० ७।४।२।२]. Breath is the naturally-perforated brick, for the breath bores itself within the body through the nostrils. The other such brick is अन्न or the food which enters through the mouth.

94. प्राणापानौ पवित्रे [तै० ३।३।४।४]. The two strainers or purifiers of पयः and सोम used in the यज्ञ are symbolical of प्राण and अपान, the natural purifiers within the body. Also प्राणोदानौ पवित्रे [शु० १।८।१।४४].

95. प्राणो वै पवमानः [शु० २।२।१।९]. पवमान पावक and शुचि are the three forms of अग्नि, compared with प्राण, अन्न, वीर्य [शु० २।२।१।१०-१२], and also with the three *lokas*.

96. प्राणापानौ as देवानां भिषजा [अथर्व० ७।५३।१-२]. प्राण and अपान are the divine physicians, the celestial healing agents implanted within all creatures. They are the twin Aśvins who restored to youth the aged च्यवन suffering from senile decay.

97. प्राणापानौ व्रीहियवौ [अथर्व० ११।४।१३] which explains itself—यवे ह प्राण आहितोऽपानो व्रीहिरुच्यते.

98. अनड्वान् प्राण उच्यते [अथर्व ११।४।१३]. Prāṇa is also called अनड्वान्, the Bull that bears the cart [अनस्] of the body. The Atharva devotes a *sūkta* [४।११] for the glorification of this अनड्वान्, who supports the earth, heaven and the expansive mid-regions.

99. प्राणमाऊर्मातरिश्वानम् [अथर्व ११।४।१५]. Prāṇa is called मातरिश्वा, that vital air within the body which blows from south to north [i.e. from lower regions towards the brain] and is therefore productive of sublimated seed (ऊर्ध्वरेत) [तै० २।३।९।५].

100. प्राणो विराट् [अथर्व० ११।४।१२].

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101. The Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa sheds light on the differentiation of Prāṇa. Their number is variable, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, nine, ten, and then countless like the rays of the sun:—

(प्राणः) एकवीर इत्यारुणेयः। १। एकपुत्र इति चैकितानेयः। एको ह्येवैष पुत्रो यत्प्राणः। २। स एव द्विपुत्रः द्वौ हि प्राणापानौ। ३। स एव हि त्रिपुत्र इति, त्रयो हि प्राणोऽपानो व्यानः। ४। स एव हि चतुष्पुत्र इति, चत्वारो हि प्राणोऽपानो व्यानस्समानः। ५। स उ एव पञ्चपुत्र इति, पञ्च हि प्राणोऽपानो व्यानस्समानोऽवानः। ६। स उ एव षट्-पुत्र इति, षड्वि प्राणोऽपानो व्यानस्समानोऽवान उदानः। ७। स उ एव सप्तपुत्र इति, सप्त ह्यीमे शीर्षण्याः प्राणाः। ८। स उ एव नवपुत्र इति सप्त हि शीर्षण्याः प्राणा द्वावधस्ताद्वौ। ९। स उ एव दशपुत्र इति, सप्त शीर्षण्याः प्राणा द्वावधस्ताद्वौ नाभ्यां दशमः। १०। स उ एव बह्वपुत्र इति, एतस्य ह्येयं सर्वाः प्रजाः [जै० उ० ब्रा० २।५।१-१०]. This is the Vedic view about the number of प्राणाs which are variable according to the point of view emphasized. The number is in fact infinite [सहस्र—जै० उ० २।६।१०], as the शतपथ also says—

को हि तद्वेद यावन्त इमेऽन्तरात्मन् प्राणाः। [शु० ७।२।२।२०].

'Who knows how many vital airs there are inside the body?' Prāṇa as a synonym of Prajāpati has many names and forms;

'It resides in the womb of all beings; all worlds take their stand upon it; the wise alone see its source with the eye of discernment.'

The Vedic seers glorify Prāṇa in many hymns of praise. The Prāṇa sūkta of the Atharvaveda (XI. 4) is such a hymn, the grandest of all chants which in sublime words praises the great Life Principle typified as Prāṇa;

'Adoration to Prāṇa, him who hath dominion o'er the universe. Who hath become the Sovereign Lord of all, on whom everything depends.'

And in praise of this glorification, could we not ask with Maurice Maeterlink: 'Is it possible to find, in our human annals, words more majestic, more august in tone, more devout?'

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EARLY HISTORY OF THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

By JAGAN NATH

A large number[1] of copper-plate inscriptions discovered from various parts of Gujrat gives to us the names of rulers of a dynasty, the founder of which was Bhaṭārkka[2] who bears the title of Senāpati. Most of these charters have been issued from Valabhī which, as we also know from Hiuen Tsang, was their capital. In the opening lines of these inscriptions occurs the expression *prasabha praṇatāmitrāṇām-Maitrakāṇāṃ*. At first it was believed that the Maitrakas were a powerful tribe who were defeated by Bhaṭārkka.[3] Dr. Hultzsch was the first to point out the error of this belief and he has shown that the Maitrakas were not the enemies defeated by Bhaṭārkka, but that Bhaṭārkka himself belonged to the family of the Maitrakas. I quote the relevant part of Hultzsch's argument :

'The reading *sapatna* finally disposes of the possibility of construing the word Maitrakāṇāṃ with the next following compound and forces us to connect the word with the verb *abhavat* which is omitted, but must be supplied to complete the sentence. Whether we paraphrase the passage Maitrakāṇāṃ (i.e. Maitrakeṣu) *Bhaṭārkobhavat* or supply the word *Vaṃśe* after Maitrakāṇāṃ it is now evident that Bhaṭārkka, the ancestor of the Valabhī kings, himself belonged to the family or tribe of the Maitrakas.'[4]

The next question is, who were the Maitrakas? The early generation of epigraphists believed that the Maitrakas were a sun-worshipping people, of foreign, possibly Persian, origin. Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji suggested that Maitraka was the Sanskritized form of the word Mer or Mehār the original name of the tribe; and remarked, 'Though these Maitrakas are mentioned in no other records from Surāṣṭra, there seems a reason to identify the Maitrakas with the Mihiras'.[5] A similar opinion was expressed by J. F. Fleet, 'The Mihiras were a branch of the Hūṇas who under the leadership of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula overthrew the power of the early

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[1] Eighty-five according to my list prepared in 1933. Some more have been published since.

[2] The name is variously spelt as Bhaṭārkka, Bhaṭāraka, Bhaṭakka, etc.

[3] Cf. Mandlik, J.Bo.Br.R.A.S., XI (O.S.), p. 346; Kielhorn, I.A., 1885, p. 327f.; Fleet, CII, III, p. 13 (Intr.).

[4] E.I., Vol. III (1894-95), p. 319.

[5] As quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar, J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 184.

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Guptas and established themselves, in Kāthiāwāḍ and other parts of Northern India and were in their turn conquered in Kāṭhiāwāḍ by Senāpati Bhaṭārkka'.[1] More recently it has been stated 'The Hūṇas were a sun-worshipping people. The almost contemporaneity of their appearance on the Indian soil with the Hūṇas, admittedly a sun-worshipping people, makes it rather probable that Maitrakas were but an allied tribe with if not a branch of the Hūṇas '.[2]

D. R. Bhandarkar had expressed the same view, and held that The Maitrakas were, like the Gurjaras, a tribe allied with the Hūṇas and entered India with them'.[3]

However it should be remembered that neither Bhagwan Lal Indraji nor Fleet regarded the family of Bhaṭārkka as of foreign origin. Their statements related to the people conquered by Bhaṭārkka. In all likelihood their views were influenced to a considerable extent by this consideration. But now that we know that Bhaṭārkka himself belonged to this family, their views should not be quoted to prove the foreign origin of the Maitrakas. The main consideration in regarding the Maitrakas as foreigners was their supposed connection with Mihiras and their predilection for sun-worship. While of course both Mihara and Mitra are synonyms for 'Sun', the derivative Maitraka is never used in Sanskrit-literature in the sense of 'sun-worshipper'.[4] But even admitting for the sake of argument that it means a sun-worshipper, this argument is of no avail; for we find that neither Bhaṭārkka himself nor any one of his immediate successors was a devotee of the god Sun. Out of the twenty-one kings of this dynasty, nineteen are described as the worshippers of Śiva, and only one king, Dharapaṭṭa, the fifth in order of succession, is styled as a worshipper of Sun.[5]

But as Dharapaṭṭa was not the founder of the dynasty, it is certain that Maitraka is not a designation connected with or arising from the worship of the Sun. Moreover on their seals we find the figure of the bull representing obviously Nandi Śiva's Vāhana. So that the official emblem also shows that the avowed allegiance of the family of Bhaṭārkka was for Śiva, and not for Sun.

Can it be still maintained that the Maitrakas were a sun-worshipping people and therefore foreigners? There being no evidence in favour of this conjecture, the theory of foreign origin must be

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[1] I.A., 1886, p. 361.
[2] N. R. Ray, I.H.Q., 1928, p. 457.
[3] J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 183.
[4] In Prof. Monier William's Dictionary it is explained as 'a person who worships in a Buddhist temple'.
[5] Vide Alina copper-plate of Śiladitya, VII, dated 447 G.S.

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discarded. Maitraka may be equated with Maitreyaka[1]; and perhaps originally these people were the bards of the Guptas.

Now let us see under what circumstances did the Maitrakas establish themselves in Surāṣṭra and founded the kingdom of Valabhī. It is sometimes assumed that they rebelled against the Imperial Guptas in the period of the decline of the Gupta empire. However that is as erroneous a belief as the theory of their foreign origin.

That the kings of Valabhī ruled as feudatories in the beginning is not only inferred from the use of such titles as Senāpati and Mahārāja, but also from the fact that the third ruler Droṇasiṅha calls himself as 'meditating on the feet of the supreme lord'.[2]

Moreover there is a very significant statement in the inscription of Droṇasiṅha's reign as well as in many others of subsequent dates, which throws light on the status of these rulers of the early period. With reference to Droṇasiṅha it is stated that he was installed as king by the supreme lord, the master of the whole world, himself.[3] That clearly shows that Droṇasiṅha acknowledged the overlordship of some paramount ruler whose name, unfortunately, has not been stated. The earliest known date for Droṇasiṅha is 183 G.S. or 502 A.D. At this time, i.e. the beginning of the sixth century A.D., who was the paramount sovereign in Northern India? In the present state of our knowledge of ancient Indian history only three names suggest themselves for identification with the overlord of Droṇasiṅha, namely (1) the Gupta emperor Bhānugupta who is known to us from the Eran stone pillar inscription of Goparāja of the year 191 = 510 A.D., (2) the Hūṇa ruler Toramāṇa who is described as a mahārājadhirāja in the Eran Boar-stone inscription, and (3) Yaśodharman.

So far as Yaśodharman is concerned his imperial career must have started after the end of the Gupta Imperial power. It is clear from the Mandasor pillar inscription that both the Guptas and Hūṇas were no longer on the stage of Indian politics, and were already counted as powers of the past.[4] In the Eran pillar inscription of Goparāja, Bhānugupta is compared to the Epic hero Arjuna. It

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[1] Maitreyaka means 'a particular caste whose business it was to praise great men'.

[2] *'paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyātaḥ'*, Bhamodra Mohotta copper-plate of the year 183 E.I., Vol. XVI, p. 17f.

[3] अखिलभुवनमण्डलैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपचितराज्याभिषेकः ।

[4] Cf. ये भुक्ता गुप्तनाथैर्न्न सकलवसुधाक्रान्तिदृष्टप्रतापै-
र्नाज्ञा क्षुण्णाधिपानां क्षितिपतिमुकुटाध्यासिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yaśodharman.

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means that there were still powerful Gupta emperors in 510 A.D. and the Gupta dominion extended up to the central provinces. Hence it is obvious that Yaśodharman's imperial career began after 510 A.D. At any rate he could not have been described as अखिलभुवनमण्डलैकस्वामी परमस्वामी in or before 502 A.D. Therefore he is not the overlord of Droṇasiṅha. As for Toramāṇa, it is clear that his conquests must have commenced after 176 G.S. the last date on the coins of Budhagupta. In other words up to 495-96 A.D. the Hūṇas had not captured any part of the Gupta dominions. Even if Toramāṇa had achieved some success immediately after 496, his hold upon these newly conquered territories was by no means secure, for we find that up to 510 A.D. the Gupta emperors were still putting up a brave fight.[1] It is clear therefore that in 502 A.D. when the Guptas still claimed suzerainty over India, Toramāṇa could not have been described as अखिलभुवनमण्डलैकस्वामी. That the Maitrakas did not acknowledge the Hūṇas as their overlords is also indicated by epigraphic evidence. We find that in those territories which passed on into the hands of the Hūṇas the use of the Gupta era, in dating the records, was given up. For example, the inscription [2] recording the setting up of a flag-staff of Viṣṇu, by Dhanyaviṣṇu, at Eran, in the reign of Budhagupta is dated in the Gupta Samvat, while another inscription [3] recording the building of a temple, by the same Dhanyaviṣṇu in the reign of Toramāṇa, is dated not in the Gupta era, but in the regnal year of the Hūṇa emperor. Similarly the Gwalior inscription is not dated in the Gupta era but in the regnal year of Mihirakula. On the other hand the Maitraka kings continued to use the Gupta era in dating their records without any break in the tradition. It may be therefore conceded that the Maitraka dominions never came within the sphere of suzerainty of the Hūṇas. Thus we are only left with the name of Bhānugupta as the ruler, most probably referred to as अखिलभुवनमण्डलैकस्वामी in the inscriptions of the Maitrakas. The foregoing discussion makes it clear that

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[1] It may be noted that even at the zenith of their power the Hūṇas were masters only of a portion of the Gupta empire. There is no evidence that their dominions extended into the Gangetic plain to the east of the river Jumna. In Central India also they were not able to advance beyond Ākara or Eastern Mālavā. In spite of their occupation of the Saugor District their next door neighbours the feudatory kings of the Parivrajaka dynasty continued to express allegiance to the Guptas at least up to 528 A.D., and there is not even an echo of the Hūṇa rule, in their inscriptions.

[2] Eran stone pillar inscription dated 165; CII. Vol. III.

[3] Eran Boar-stone inscription of Toramāṇa; CII. Vol. III.

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it is not true to say that the Maitrakas under Bhaṭārkka had rebelled against the authority of the Guptas.

The true facts regarding the establishment of the Maitraka dominion will come out if we carefully examine the trend of events from the reign of Skandagupta onwards. From the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, it is clear that Surāṣṭra was in the possession of the Guptas at least up to the Gupta year 138=457 A.D. From the same inscription it is also clear that the administration of the province of Surāṣṭra had become a matter of grave concern, and the Gupta emperors took extraordinary care in selecting a viceroy for this province. We are told that Skandagupta pondered for days and nights continuously over the question of selection of a viceroy for Surāṣṭra and it was after deep deliberation that a most qualified person like Parṇadatta was appointed. There must have been strong reasons that had necessitated so much precaution. In my opinion there was a danger of foreign invasion from that side, and the emperor wanted to entrust the province to a man of exceptional abilities. Accustomed as we are to look upon the Khyber Pass as the usual route for invaders coming into India from the north-west, the above suggestion may not appear convincing. But we must remember that already once before in the first century B.C. the Śaka hordes had poured through the Bolan Pass into that part of India first, and thence spread to other provinces. It is not improbable therefore, that in the same quarter there were apprehensions of danger, once again. From the Bhitari pillar inscription we know that Skandagupta was engaged in a terrific conflict with the Hūṇas. We do not know where the battle took place. Skandagupta came out victorious from this contest, but the barbarians appear to have been still hovering over the frontiers of the empire, particularly in the west. That was the cause of the emperor's anxiety. While he selected capable civilians who could keep the subjects happy and contented in such critical times, he must have also greatly reinforced the defence-force and despatched skilful commanders. It is no wonder that in these circumstances a capable military leader like Bhaṭārkka was sent to Surāṣṭra. Chronological considerations favour such a hypothesis. The earliest known date for Mahārāja Droṇasiṃha, third in succession from Bhaṭārkka, is 183 or 502 A.D. Allowing a period of forty years for two generations we shall arrive at (502—40) 462 A.D. as the starting point for the career of Bhaṭārkka. That is remarkably approximate to the time of appointment of Parṇadatta as governor of Surāṣṭra. May we not infer that it was just at this time that Bhaṭārkka was sent as the chief of the military in Surāṣṭra. In the inscriptions, Bhaṭārkka is described as '*maula-*

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bhṛta-mitra-śreṇībal-āvāpta-rājya-śrī',[1] i.e. he who had obtained royal fortune by means of his army which consisted of the elements, Maula, bhṛta, mitra, and śreṇī. 'Rājyasri' need not be understood too literally as 'kingship'. It simply means a high office and royal favour. Such vague statements are sometimes met with in the inscriptions. For example in the Eran pillar inscription of the year 165 of the reign of Budhagupta, even a person like Mātṛviṣṇu who was not even a provincial governor, but only a *Viṣaypati* (District-officer) or a petty chief, is called as '*svayamvaray-eva rājalakṣmy-ādhigataḥ*' (approached by the goddess of royal fortune as if by her own choice). Therefore from this we may only conclude that by his splendid and meritorious services Bhaṭārkka had obtained a very high position. It is likely that the situation in Surāṣṭra had grown such that the civil and military offices were entrusted to one man, and Bhaṭārkka was now governor as well as commander-in-chief. That he had not become an independent king is shown by his title of *Senāpati*. It may however be objected that the title Senāpati has been used even for the Śuṅga emperor Puṣyamitra. But in that case it was simply reminiscent of his original position and was not used by his successors. But here, Bhaṭārkka's son is also styled as Senāpati. It means that he had succeeded his father in the same office. That was quite in accord with the prevailing practice. We find that higher posts in the Gupta administration had become hereditary. Thus for example in the Udaygiri cave inscription of the reign of Candragupta II, his minister, Vīrasena, is described as *anvayaprāpta-sācivyaḥ* (who had acquired the position of a minister by heredity); and in the Karmadande Lingam inscription we find that Pṛthivisena had succeeded to the post of Mantri of Kumāragupta I while the former's father Śikhara was the minister of Candragupta II. From the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta we learn that provincial governors were empowered to appoint their assistants, themselves. It was according to this practice that Parṇadatta had appointed his son Cakrapālita as *charge-de-affairs* of the city. Hence we can assume that Bhaṭārkka had already associated with himself his son Dharasena in the affairs of administration. After the death of Bhaṭārkka, Dharasena succeeded to the offices held by his father namely both as the head of the military as well as Civil Governor. Dharasena I also had a brilliant record of distinguished services, and the Gupta emperor seems to have been so much pleased that the

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[1] In Hindu political treatises army is described as consisting of the six elements. Cf. Kālidāsa, षड्विधं बलमादाय प्रतस्थे दिग्जिगीषया। Raghuvaṃsa, IV. 26. The six elements were: मौलं भृत्यः सुहृच्छ्रेणीद्विषदाटविकं बलं॥

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successor of Dharasena was granted the status of a king. As personal visits go a long way in strengthening friendly feelings, the Gupta emperor went to the Maitraka capital to perform the *abhiṣeka*. The mutual goodwill and cordial relations between the imperial power and these 'wardens of marches' thus resulted in the creation of a new dynasty of feudatory rulers. The occasion was a landmark in the history of the Maitrakas, and the memory of the personal visit of the overlord has been carefully preserved in the dynastic accounts.

It seems necessary here to explain the circumstances under which the city of Valabhī became the capital of Surāṣṭra. From the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta it is more or less clear that in his time Girinagara was the capital of Surāṣṭra, as both Parṇadatta the governor and his son Cakrapālita appear to have resided there. But from the time of the Maitrakas, Girinagara seems to have lost its importance. Now, Valabhī, a city unknown in the previous times, was the premier city in Surāṣṭra. What was the reason for this change of the capital? This question has to be answered, lest the change may be interpreted as indicative of estrangement between the Maitrakas and their imperial overlords, the Guptas. It will be shown below that the reason for shifting the capital was quite different. Girinagara had been the capital of Surāṣṭra from very early days. It was the seat of government during the Maurya period and after that the headquarters of the various governments seem to have been located here. Here a beautiful lake had been constructed during the reign of Candragupta Maurya by throwing a massive dam across an opening in the hills. While this was a boon to the agriculturists, it was a source of danger for the town. From the inscription of the reign of Rudradāman we know that the massive embankment had been damaged and was repaired in 150 A.D. The embankment burst once again and this time the breach was so serious and the rains so heavy that the whole city was in danger of being washed away. For many days and nights the citizens of Girinagar had no peace of mind. The havoc is described graphically in ll 15–18.[1] From this we may infer that the lake became a source of grave anxiety for the citizens, during many a rainy season, and

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[1] Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta, CII. Vol. III.

अथ क्रमेणाम्बुदकाल आगते निदाघकालं प्रविदार्य तोयदैः।
ववर्ष तोयं वज्र संततं चिरं सुदर्शनं येन विभेद चाचलात्॥

.....

विषाद्यमानाः खलु सर्वतो जनाः कथं कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः।
मिथो हि पूर्वापररात्रसुत्थितो विचिन्तायां चापि बभूवुरुत्सुकाः॥

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the result was that the city was either voluntarily evacuated, or deserted after having been washed away. The new capital was located at Valabhī—which means a raised or lofty place. That the city of Valabhī is quite modern is shown by the absence of any reference to it in early Buddhist or Hindu works. The earliest reference to it is I think in the Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin.

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SOME ASPECTS OF MUSLIM POLITY IN EARLY MEDIÆVAL INDIA (1200–1210 A.D.)

By S. K. BANERJI

The joint rule of the two brothers.

In Indian History, the thirteenth century is a century full of stirring events. It opens with the advent of a new power more democratic than India had so far been familiar with. In 1200 A.D., the Ghūrī rule was firmly established from the Hindūkush to West Bengal and the Indian conquests were entrusted to a manumitted slave, Qutbuddīn, who acted as viceroy on behalf of the Ghūrī ruler. The actual ruler was Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad bin Sam who had his headquarters in Fīrūzkūh in Afghānistān and who mostly confined himself to the civil duties of his government. His younger brother, Muizuddīn Mohammad, was at first *Sar-jān-dār*, i.e. chief armour-bearer, of the elder brother,[1] but later on when Ghaznī was conquered in 569 A.H. (1173-4 A.D.), he sat 'on the throne of the Mahmūdīs'[2] and henceforth may be regarded a Sultān. The coins of the period make clear the relation between the two brothers. Both the brothers have their names stamped on the coins. On one side of the coin, Ghiyāsuddīn's name is imprinted thus

الناصر بالله السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح محمد بن سام ☼

Tr.—The victorious by Allah's aid, the great Sultān, Ghiyāsuddunyā waddīn Abul Fath Muhammad bin Sām. On the other side of it occurs Muizuddīn's name

السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام ☼

Tr.—The honoured Sultān Muizuddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sām.[3]

It is dated A.H. 592 (1195-6 A.D.).

Success of the joint rule.

It will be noticed that both the Ghūrī chiefs are called Sultāns, but Ghiās being the elder is, in addition, entitled الاعظم, the great.[4] The joint rule was a success and Muizuddīn, though the more active member

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[1] See the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Persian text, edited by Captain Lees, p. 69, l. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73, ll. 5-6.

[3] See Thomas: *The Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Delhi*, pp. 12-3, coins Nos. 1–3.

[4] The Qutb Minār has also inscriptions in their name. See *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-2.

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and in command of the army of the empire, ever remained faithful to his elder brother. History does not give many such examples of a joint rule and whenever it gives, as for instance, after Sultān Husain Bāiqarā's death in 1506 A.D., the arrangement was not a success.[1] In the present case, the division of work was convenient allowing administration and expansion to go hand in hand.

Ghiyāsuddīn succeeded by Muizuddīn.

Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad died in 1201 A.D. and was succeeded by his younger brother, Muizuddīn,[2] and not by Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad's son, Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd. The law of inheritance among the Shansabī Ghūrī chiefs appears to differ from the present-day law of inheritance among the rulers in that the son did not always inherit the father's throne but the most elderly among the near male descendants did. The more experienced Muizuddīn was preferred to Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd, Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad's son.

The political significance of his slave system.

Muizuddīn ruled till March 1206 A.D., i.e. for three years only[3] but his reign has significance for more than one reason. Now that the joint rule had come to an end, he had to devise such a scheme as would preserve the government. His trust in his slaves came in to his help. The most eminent of them, Qutbuddīn, he had already made his viceroy of India. After accession, he gave him still greater powers. Qutbuddīn repaid him by his loyal services, e.g. after Muizuddīn's defeat at the battle of Andkhūī in 1205 A.D. against Alāuddīn Khwārazm Shāh, when the Khokars rose in the Punjāb against Muizuddīn's rule, the Sultān defeated them with Qutbuddīn's help. There was no attempt on the latter's part to take advantage of his master's troubles and declare himself independent.

Similarly Muizuddīn had appointed Tājuddīn Yildiz, governor of Ghaznī and Nāsiruddīn Qabācha of Multān. Like Qutbuddīn, Nāsiruddīn remained faithful to his master and Yildiz also, but for a brief spell following the defeat of Muizuddīn at Andkhūī when he had closed the gates of Ghaznī to Muizuddīn's face.

Muizuddīn's slave system was not wholly an evil. The slaves under him were treated like sons, trained in manly pursuits like

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[1] Husain's two sons acting as joint rulers lost their kingdom and were later on killed. See the *Bābur-nāma* by A. Beveridge, pp. 293, 326–30.

[2] As is clear from the coins. See Thomas, coin No. 4, on p. 14. The *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 46, assigns February 1203 for Muizuddīn's accession, probably on the authority of Raverty, the translator of the *Tabāqāt-i-Nāsirī*. For Raverty see p. 472, No. 6 of the translation.

[3] See the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 48.

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riding and archery, and were taught also the rudiments of learning. Several of them forgot their early days of adversity, rose to be the nobles of the kingdom, and helped him with their counsel and valour.

This sense of loyalty was seldom so marked as in Muizuddīn's time. Not only were *his* slaves loyal to *him*, but there were other slaves, too, who were equally loyal to their masters. One striking case of loyalty may be mentioned. Ikhtiyāruddīn Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār had been purchased as slave by Qutbuddīn. In time the slave was able to capture the rich provinces of Bihār and Bengal and became possessed of enormous wealth. Many of the Khaljīs from Afghānistān had gathered round him. He might easily have been tempted to become independent. As it was, he read *ḳhutbah* in Muizuddīn's and in Qutbuddīn's name, sent the treasures to Delhi, and turned the attention of his followers to further conquest in the east and the north.

After Muizuddīn's death, February 1206 A.D., he was succeeded by Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad's son, Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd. Again here we find an unusual succession. Seldom do we find succession decided by going back to the elder brother of the dead king and selecting his son. But as we have seen, among the Ghūrīs the nearest adult male heir was usually chosen.

Qutbuddīn's accession to the throne in India.

In India too a significant change occurred. Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd granted an umbrella and the title of Sultān to Qutbuddīn.[1] Qutbuddīn sat on the throne of Lahore as king of North India. Incidentally, one or two interesting constitutional problems crop up. One is 'would Mahmūd's grant of insignia signify royal honours for Qutbuddīn?' Ordinarily, the grant of an umbrella, چتر, did not indicate the conferment of any royal honours; for example, when Bābur granted an umbrella along with other gifts to Muhammand Zamān Mirzā. In Bābur's words,[2] 'Muhammad Zamān Mirzā was presented with a royal head-to-foot, a sword and belt, a *tipuchāq* horse and an umbrella'. But the Mirzā was only made governor of Bihār. Similarly the title of Sultān was borne by the independent rulers of the Muslim world

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[1] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī's* words are

چون سلطان غازی محمد سام طاب ثراه شهادت یافت سلطان غیاث الدین محمود محمد سام که برادر زاده سلطان معز الدین بود قطب الدین را چتر فرموده لقب سلطانی داد ... (او) بر تخت لوهور جلوس فرمود ؛

see p. 140.

[2] See Mrs. Beveridge's *Bābur-nāma*, p. 662.

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as well as by the distinguished nobles of their kingdoms. For instance, the list of Bābur's nobility may be taken up. At least a dozen of them held the title.[1] Also all the children of a king were called Sultāns.

To return to Qutbuddīn's case, what Minhāj-i-Sirāj means is that the title was granted as a token of the Indian viceroy's power and riches and that if he chose, he could make himself independent of the Ghūrī rulers. It is generally agreed that he availed himself of the opportunity and became the first independent Muslim king in India.

The second question is: how far would the recognition by Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd of Qutbuddīn's independence be legal or profitable to the latter? That the recognition was profitable to Qutbuddīn is certain; for the other slave chiefs, Nāsiruddīn Qabācha, Shamsuddīn Iltutmish, and Ikhtiyāruddīn Muhammad acknowledged his suzerainty and submitted to him, so that the whole of North India united under his sceptre. The only person who raised some objections was Tājuddīn Yildiz, but even he did not question Qutbuddīn's right to rule over Delhi but only over the Punjāb which under the Ghaznavids was included in the kingdom of Ghaznī and hence went with it. As for legality, no recognition by a small potentate could make Qutbuddīn's position legal. It was only the *Khalifa* of Baghdād or of Egypt who by his recognition could legalize his position. This was later on done in the reign of Iltutmish. Of course Mahmūd's recognition of the Delhi State as a separate kingdom meant that he would protect it as an ally, if occasion arose, against the foreign invaders.

Similarly Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd had presented the throne of Ghaznī to Yildiz.

Minhāj's words are[2]

چون سلطان غازی شهادت یافت ملوک و امرای ترک را خاطر و مزاج آن بود
که سلطان غیاث الدین محمود سام از حدود گرمسیر بطرف غزنین آید و بر تخت عم
خود نشیند و همگنان بخدمت او کمر بندند - این معنی بحضرت فیروز کوه در قلم
آوردند و عرض داشت کردند که ..... وارث ملک توئی و ما بندگان تو - سلطان

[1] Those who had the titles of Sultān were (1) Bābā Qulī Bēg, (2) Muhammad Dūldāī, (3) Qāsim Husain, (4) Bāyazīd, (5) Husain Arghun Qarā-Kūlī, (6) Jalāluddīn Sharqī, (7) Junaid Barlās, (8) Mahmūd Sharqī, (9) Sanjar Barlās Turk, (10) Sanjar Mirzā Mervī, (11) Ahmad Tambal, (12) Wais Kūlābī, (13) Wais Sawādī.

[2] *T.N.*, p. 133.

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غیاث الدین محمود جواب فرمود که مرا تخت پدر و حضرت فیروز کوه و ممالک غور اولیتر آن مملکت من شما را فرمودم و سلطان تاج الدین را تشریف فرستاد و خط عتق داد و تخت غزنین بحواله او کرد ـ بحکم آن فرمان ملک تاج الدین بغزنین آمد ..... و بتخت غزنین نشست ٭

Tr.[1]—

When the Sultān-i-Ghazi attained martyrdom, it was the desire and disposition of the Turk *maliks* and *amirs* that Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd son of (Ghiyāsuddīn) Muhammad son of Sām should come from the confines of Garmsīr to Ghaznīn and ascend his uncle's throne and that they all should gird up their loins in his service. To this effect they wrote to the court of Fīrūzkūh, and represented, saying, '.....Thou art the heir to the dominion and we are thy slaves'. Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd replied, 'To me the throne of my father, which is in the capital, Fīrūzkūh, and the kingdom of Ghūr, are the most desirable. I confer the territory (of Ghaznīn) on you' and he despatched a robe of honour to Sultān Tājuddīn Yildiz and presented him with a letter of manumission and assigned the throne of Ghaznīn unto him. By virtue of this mandate, Sultān Tājuddīn Yildiz came to Ghaznīn.....and ascended the throne of Ghaznīn.

The three divisions of the Ghūrī kingdom.

Mahmūd appears to be one of the mediocrities who refrained from the responsibilities of ruling the vast empire comprising Fīrūzkūh, Ghaznī and the whole of North India. He was content with the single government of Fīrūzkūh and hence granted the insignia of royalty both to Qutbuddīn and to Yildiz. He might have granted this insignia to Qabācha also but the latter had already recognized Qutbuddīn's suzerainty. Muizuddīn's kingdom was, so to say, broken into three divisions, the smallest ruled by his nephew, and the other two by two of his slaves.

Qutbuddīn's and Yildiz's coins do not always bear their names.

It is a striking fact that Qutbuddīn and Yildiz had abstained from issuing coins in their sole names. So long as Muizuddīn was alive, they were his deputies and so the coins bore his name, as well as the name of the *Ḳhalifa*, e.g. one of Yildiz's gold coins, struck at Ghaznī, bears the inscription—

[1] By Raverty. See his translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 501-2.

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Obverse.	Reverse.
لا اله الا الله	السلطان الاعظم
محمد رسول الله	معز الدنيا و
الناصر لدين الله	الدين ابو المظفر
امير المومنين	محمد بن سام

Date is 603 A.H.

Tr.—

Obverse.—There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet. The Helper of God's religion, the Commander of the Faithful.

Reverse.—The Great Sultān, Muizudduniyā-wad-dīn Abul Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sām.

Similarly the coins of the Lahore and the Delhi mints bear the name of Muiz only.[1]

But even after his death, these slave chiefs when they had become independent kings continued to stamp coins in their master's name. In the case of Yildiz, sometimes his own name is also inserted, e.g. the inscription on coin No. 22 in Thomas's *Chronicles* reads as:

Obverse.	Reverse.
Central area	Full surface
السلطان	السلطان المعظم
الشهيد محمد	سلطان الشرق تاج
بن سام	الدنيا و الدين
Margin	يلدز
هذا ببلده غ	
شهور سنه	

[1] See Thomas, p. 15, coins Nos. 9 and 10.

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Coin No. 23.

Obverse.	Reverse.
السلطان المعز	لا اله الا الله
	محمد رسول الله
	الناصر لدين الله
	امير المومنين
عبد و مولا تاج الدنيا و الدين يلدز	ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلدة غزنه فى
السلطانى	شهور سنه عشر و ستماية

Tr.—

Obverse.—As Sultān Al Muiz

Slave and servant, Tāj-ud-duniyā-wad-dīn Yildiz, belonging to the Sultān.

Reverse.—There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet. The helper of God's religion, the Commander of the Faithful.

The silver coin (*dirham*) was struck in Ghaznī city in one of the months of *Hijri* year 610 (1213-4 A.D.).

In the case of Qutbuddīn we have hardly any gold or silver coin with a clear inscription of his name, and Thomas discusses the question why he did not issue any coin of his own.[1] Raverty in his translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* [2] relates of a work in his possession which contains specimens of the different coins of the Sultāns of Hind. It gives a specimen of Qutbuddīn's coins.

Obverse.

سكهٔ وارث ملک و نگين سلطان قطب الدين ايبک فى سنه ٦٠٣ ✲

Reverse.

ضرب دارالخلافهٔ دهلى جلوس ١ ✲

Tr.—

Obverse.—Coin of the inheritor of the kingdom and signet of Sultān Qutbuddīn Aibak in the year 603 A.H.

Reverse.—Struck at the *Dār-ul-Ḳhilāfat*, Delhi, in the first (year) of (his) occession.

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[1] See Thomas, pp. 34-5, 38-9.
[2] p. 525 footnote.

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But Raverty goes on to suggest that probably the coin is not a genuine specimen. Nelson Wright mentions a few copper coins of the Lahore mint with the inscription قطبي Qutbī, or ايبک Aibak, but bearing no date.[1] Even these copper coins are rare.

The question may be put, why this hesitation on the part of Yildiz and Qutbuddīn in issuing coins in their sole names. Minhāj-i-Sirāj describes an interesting anecdote in this connexion. When a courtier regretted God's denial of a son to him[2], Muizuddīn is reported to have replied thus: 'Other monarchs may have one son or two sons. I have so many thousand sons, namely by Turk slaves, who will be the heirs of my kingdoms and who after me will take care to preserve my name in the *Ḳhutbah* throughout those territories.'[3] Yildiz and Qutbuddīn, like faithful slaves, respected the sentiments of their master and abstained from adopting any high sounding royal titles for themselves.

Another peculiarity of Qutbuddīn's or Yildiz's coins.

Another peculiarity about the Indian coins of the early Muslim period may be incidentally mentioned. Many of them bear some inscriptions in Hindi characters or some emblems like standing or kneeling bull, Chauhān horseman, a bird under a horse, Turk horseman carrying a mace, rude representation of Goddess Lakshmi,[4] etc. These representations were against the tenets of Islam. They were probably introduced as a matter of policy.[5] The coins would then be more acceptable to the Hindus; for they would be able to read the Hindi characters and recognize the usual marks of Lakshmi or bull or horseman. It is significant that even Yildiz adopted these representations of the horseman or standing bull. It might have been due to the fact that the artisans who prepared the coins were all Hindus.

This attempt on the part of Qutbuddīn to propitiate his Hindu subjects is also noticeable in the profuse carvings that mark off the early Muslim monuments of India[6] from those of the following centuries.

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[1] H. Nelson Wright: *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultān of Delhi*, 1936, pp. 14-5.

[2] Muizuddīn had only a daughter.

[3] Raverty, p. 497. See also his remarks in *n.* 3.

[4] Besides Thomas's and Nelson Wright's books on numismatics, *Catalogue of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II may be consulted.

[5] As Thomas says, 'Muhammad bin Sām's conquests were always associated with an adaptation, more or less complete, of the local currency'.

[6] The subject has been partly discussed in another article, 'Qutb Minār—its architecture and history' published in the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, July, 1937, and also in the article 'Quwwat-ul-Islam, the oldest mosque of Delhi' read in the R.A. Society of Bengal in June, 1937.

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To sum up our conclusions:—

(1) In the opening year of the thirteenth century we see the joint rule of the two Ghūrī brothers, Ghiyāsuddīn and Muizuddīn. The elder Ghiās acted as the sovereign and the younger Muiz as the commander-in-chief of the army. Both were entitled 'Sultāns' and had their names imprinted on coins. The conquered territories in North India were entrusted to Qutbuddīn Aibak as early as 1195 A.D.

(2) After Ghiyāsuddīn's death, he was succeeded by his younger brother and not by his son Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd.

(3) Muizuddīn consolidated his kingdom with the help of his slaves. His relations played little part in the work of consolidation.

(4) After Muizuddīn's death, he was succeeded by his elder brother's son, Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd. Mahmūd was a self-contented youth, who allowed Qutbuddīn and Yildiz to become independent rulers. Thus Muizuddīn's kingdom now broke up into three smaller States, the smallest being ruled by Mahmūd himself.

(5) Although Qutbuddīn and Yildiz were independent rulers, they abstained from issuing coins in their sole names. They generally inserted their late master, Muizuddīn's name and rarely added their own names as well. They completely ignored Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd.

(6) A laudable attempt was made by early Muslim rulers, specially by Qutbuddīn, to conciliate their Hindu subjects by preserving the main features of the Hindu coinage—Hindi characters and Hindu emblems of bull, horse, horseman, or the Goddess Lakshmi. In their architecture, too, they assimilated Hindu building traditions so far as they did not offend against the fundamental tenets of Islam.

(To be continued.)

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SOME LIGHT ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER IMPERIAL GUPTAS

By S. K. Dikshit

By 'Later Imperial Guptas', I mean the successors of Kumāragupta I, whose chronology, as is well known, is the fighting ground for scholars. In order to make my views with regard to this very knotty question intelligible, I at once lay down the chronology (with known dates) as I conceive it, saying that I mainly follow Prof. Pathak[1] and Dr. Basak.[2] My differences with them will at once be apparent.

Kumāragupta I.

Skandagupta-Vikramāditya -Kramāditya (455–67)	Puragupta
⋮	Narasimhagupta
Kumāragupta II-Kramāditya (473, 474)	Kumāragupta
⋮	(Bhitari Seal)
Budhagupta (Fotokito) (476, 484, 495)	
⋮	
Bhānugupta—Vainya-Dvādaśāditya (507, 510)	
Nara-Bālāditya-Gopachandra	
Vajra-Prakaṭāditya.	

I am unable to agree with those who think that Puragupta's line succeeded Skandagupta after 467 A.D., and was all over before 476 A.D. I have not yet seen any instance adduced by any scholar to prove that such a mighty empire may not fall into pieces even if the succession is so rapid as this would necessitate. The instances adduced by certain scholars refer only to minor kingdoms. The evidence of numismatics does not at all favour the reign of Puragupta, as the coins formerly attributed wrongly to him, belong to Budhagupta.[3] Besides Kumāragupta, Kramāditya who cannot be assigned

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[1] *Bhand. Com. Vol.*, pp. 195ff.
[2] *History of North-East India*, pp. 77-78.
[3] *Indian Culture*, I, p. 691 (S. K. Saraswati).

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to as late a period as the second quarter of the sixth century as is done by Dr. Allan, since his inscriptions of the date 473-4 A.D. are found,[1] must have reigned for a period of more than the other theory would allow, as coins bearing the inscriptions Ku on the obverse and Kramāditya on the reverse,[2] as well as others bearing the inscription Śrī-Ku on the obverse [3] are easily attributable to him. It may be noted that the latter coins are attributed by Allan to Kumāragupta I and not Kumāragupta II. But that is probably a mistake that has arisen from the late date that the Doctor has assigned to Kumāragupta II. This, I hope, will be clear from his own remarks which I quote at length: 'Although these coins are of ruder workmanship than type I, they can hardly be as late as Kumāragupta II, particularly as copper coins do not seem to exist of intermediate reigns. The Cornucopiea (as in Lion Slayer type, var. a) can hardly be much later than Kumāragupta I, to whose reign we prefer to ascribe these coins. They are probably northern issues. If a third specimen was actually found with the Hūṇa coins with which it is published, it may be that these are not Gupta coins but Hūṇa' (Allan, p. xcvii).

There is probably no reason to doubt that the 'third specimen was actually found with the Hūṇa Coins'. But that does not necessitate that it was a Hūṇa issue. We know that Dhanyavishṇu had transferred his allegiance from Budhagupta to Toramāṇa, and that Budhagupta was Kumāragupta II's successor. Thus it is not at all inconsistent that Kumāragupta II's coins should be found mixed up with those of Toramāṇa, while the style makes it improbable that the coin should belong to Kumāragupta I. This, by the way, means that the copper issues did exist in Gupta coinage as late as c. 473-4 A.D.

It is already known that Kṛi on Samudragupta's coins [4] stands for Kṛitāntaparaśu, that Ku on Kramāditya's coins [5] stands for Kumāragupta (II). There are other issues [6] which also have Ku standing for Kumāragupta (I). But it is not very well realized that these separate letters are in all cases abbreviations of full names or titles of these kings which came in vogue when the lengthy legends could not be easily deciphered. Thus some fanciful explanations have been suggested and some facts ignored.

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[1] Sarnath Inscription of Abhayamitra. Cf. also Mandasore Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman.
[2] Allan's *Cat. of Indian Coins* (Gupta Dynasties), p. 1404.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 113 (Copper coins, type II).
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 140–143; Pl. XXII. 13–5; XXIII. 1–3.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3; Pl. XIV. 15–17, pp. 61–3; Pl. XII. 1–5, p. 67; Pl. XII. 15–18.

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But before I draw attention to some other coins which I tentatively assign to Kumāragupta II, I call the attention of scholars to the coins of Vainya(Gupta)-Dvādaśāditya who, as we know from the Gunaighar inscription,[1] reigned in circa 507 A.D. It has to be noted that the date of Bhānugupta according to the Eran Posthumous Stone Inscription of Goparāja,[2] is circa 510 A.D. It has been hitherto overlooked that the coins of Vainya-Dvādaśāditya have a letter Bhā (between the king's feet) which cannot but stand for Bhānugupta. These single letters, beneath the king's left arm or between his feet, have in all known cases stood for the initial letters of the king's name or title. Hence I find it difficult to agree to the suggestion of Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭasali[3] that the letter 'Cha' (found under the feet of the king) can be connected with the letters 'Samā' (found under the king's left arm), although I agree with him when he says that these coins belong to Samāchāradeva. 'Samā', in fact, can very well stand for Samāchāradeva, just as Chandra, in the coins of Chandragupta II, stands for his name. The letter 'Cha' or 'Dha' cannot be joined to 'Samā', just as the letter 'Bhā' cannot be joined to 'Vainya'. Thus we must seek for a name the short form of which it can be, and it is tempting to suggest that 'Dha' stands for 'Dharmāditya'.[4] In any case that letter stands for some name, and this may help us in identifying some of these seemingly different kings.

There is a letter on the coin of Śrī-Prakāśāditya which has been read by Dr. Allan[5] as 'U' or 'RU', but which, on the specimens illustrated on Pl. XXII, Nos. 1 and 5, may probably be read as 'KU'. If so, the coins of Prakāśāditya may be attributed to Kumāragupta II, as is indicated by the Bharsar hoard which, according to Allan, 'contained the coins of Samudragupta, Chandragupta, Kumāragupta,

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, 1930, p. 45.

[2] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 20.

[3] *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 80.

[4] For Dharmāditya's inscriptions, *vide I.A.*, XXIX, pp. 193ff. For Samāchāradeva's inscriptions, *vide E.I.*, XVIII, p. 80. A Faridpur grant of Dharmāditya (regnal year 3) mentions at least three persons (viz. Anāchāra, Ghoshachandra and Śivachandra) also found in the Faridpur grant of Gopachandra (19th regnal year). Hence Pargiter's suggestion that Dharmāditya was succeeded by Gopachandra seems to be improbable. A more natural deduction would be that Dharmāditya succeeded Gopachandra in the Vāraka-madala. Both are compared in these inscriptions with Yayāti and Ambarīsha. In a later (undated) Faridpur inscription, Dharmāditya is in addition compared with Nṛiga and Nahusha. It is improbable that Gopachandra should have at a later date reverted to the formula of the earlier grant of Dharmāditya, and should have discarded the comparison with Nṛiga and Nahusha.

[5] Allan, Pl. XXIV. 4, p. 149.

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Skandagupta and Prakāśāditya; the natural deduction would be that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skandagupta, and the hoard was buried in his reign' (Allan, p. 11).[1]

The letter 'Si' found on the Lyrist and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta[2] is taken by Dr. Allan to represent Siddham but should, according to the view propounded here, be regarded as representing 'Siddhāśvamedhaḥ', 'Siddha-medhaḥ' or some such expression which, like Kṛitāntaparaśu, may be an appropriate epithet of Samudragupta, and may not, at the same time, be in conflict with the idea expressed by the design or legend on those coins. There are letters like 'Go' (=Govindagupta?) and 'Jā' on the coins of Kramāditya[3] which also are difficult of interpretation; but they are probably epithets of the same king. This is confirmed by one more identification.

The coins of Nara-Bālāditya also have a certain letter, which is to be read as 'Go'. The name that it represents must be Gopachandra.[4] In any case this Narasiṁha-Bālāditya is identical with Bālāditya, the conqueror of Mihirakula and not with Narasimhagupta of the Bhitari Seal. The comparatively large number of coins of Nara-Bālāditya cannot be attributed to Narasimhagupta of the Bhitari Seal, whose reign-period, together with that of his father, can hardly be more than five years.

In view of this identification as well as that of Bhānugupta with Vainyagupta, I am unable to accept the identification of Bhānugupta with Nara-Bālāditya, which is proposed by Dr. Ray Chaudhari in his Political History, p. 504 (4th ed.).

The Gupta empire thus seems to have fallen into pieces only after c. 530 A.D. up to which time Narasiṁha-Bālāditya, contemporary of Mihirakula, (and hence probably of Yaśodharman), did rule. Droṇasiṁha, the third member of the Maitraka dynasty, is said to have 'been consecrated with his own hand by the great Lord, the sole master of the whole world',[5] and we know that Droṇasiṁha's date

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[1] The coins of Prakāśāditya are described by Allan on p. 135.

[2] Allan., Pl. V. 1–7 and 9–14, p. lxxv.

[3] Pls. XXII. 15, XXIII. 1–5.

[4] I had misread the letter as 'Gre' and owe its correction to R.B. K. N. Dikshit. It is to be noted that Mahārāja Vijayasena served under Vainyagupta as well as Gopachandra. According to Mr. N. G. Majumdar, 'he occupied a more dignified position under Gopachandra' (*E.I.*, XXIII. 158). At any rate, Gopachandra was the successor of Vainyagupta (the successor of Budhagupta). Hiuen Tsang informs that Bālāditya, the conqueror of Mihirakula, was the son of Fotokito's successor. Thus the coins confirm Hiuen Tsang. (Beal, I. 167ff.; Hwui Li, p. 111.)

[5] 'अखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपचितराज्याभिषेकः।'—Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 38.

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is c. 505 A.D. Who can be this overlord? Before answering this question, it is well to remember that the Valabhī kings use the Gupta Era, which is inconsistent with the supposition that the Hūṇas were their overlords. The Parivrājaka and the Uchchakalpa dynasties refer to the Gupta-nṛiparājyabhukti or to the Gupta Era.[1] Parivrājaka inscriptions of the Gupta Era exist and pertain to the reign of Mahārāja Hastin (dated 156, 163, 191 and 198) and to that of Mahārāja Saṁkshobha (dated 199, 209), which would thus extend over a period from 475 to 528. Inscriptions of Śarvanātha extend from 191 to 214, which would perhaps mean that the Gupta sovereigns exercised a vague suzerainty even up to 533 A.D. Hence arises the question as to how much we should believe in the words of an Indian Praśastikāra, like Vāsula, the son of Kakka and the court poet of Yaśodharman, especially when he himself confesses that he has written the verses merely to please the king.[2]

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[1] There is no direct mention of the Gupta Era in the Uchchakalpa inscriptions, but the Era used in them is certainly the Gupta Era and not the Kalachuri Era, as was held by some scholars (cf. Prof. V. V. Mirashi in *E.I.*, Vol. XXI).

[2] 'इति तुष्टूषया नस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्मणः। वासुलेनोपरचिताः श्लोकाः कक्कस्य सूनुना॥'—Mandasore Inscr. of Yaśodharman. Gopachandra ruled at least for nineteen years; so if my identification of Gopachandra with Narasiṁhagupta-Bālāditya be correct, the 'Later Imperial Guptas' reigned at least up to 529 A.D. In this article, I have purposely omitted any reference to the position which Govindagupta of the Basarh seal and the Mandasore inscription occupies in the genealogy.

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MISCELLANEA

THE BUDDHA AS A MASTER MIND

In Professor Keith's article 'The Buddha as a master mind', he makes this remark: 'The Buddha's demand that we should have the self as our light (*attadīpā*) or the self as our refuge (*attasaraṇā*) should not be pressed into an affirmation of a transcendental reality, when a simple meaning insisting on self-help is so natural.'

It was a joy to me, a few years ago, to note, that Professor Radhakrishnan (here criticised) translated this notable injunction as I had done, in disagreement with my husband's (not to mention Franke's) rendering. But Professor Radhakrishnan needs not that I assume to be his defender. I speak solely for myself. And I would say, that for a modern Britisher, including as it does, a modern Scotchman, it is indeed very 'natural' to see nothing more in those memorable words than advice to be self-dependent. But that it will have been 'natural' 500 B.C. for Gotama's fellow-teachers to have so understood him is really funny. Or am I blind to other injunctions to depend for religious guidance on one's unaided earthly self? Did not the pious Indian then, as now, look ever to some man wiser than himself for guidance: in Pali his *satthar*, his *kalyāṇamitta*, and now, his '*guru*'?

Had the critic's point been, that such an injunction was, so far from being 'natural' to the disciple, a new and a needed mandate, this would have deserved more serious attention. But even so, it is a point impossible to make. In the first place, the injunction is in form twofold, doubly weighty. Both 'self' and dhamma' are to be man's light and refuge. If then both are to count as unidentified with each other, this is as if the captain of a ship in a fleet were bidden to steer his own course and to follow in the Admiral's wake! One cannot have it both ways. And again, if I know anything of Pali idiom, I would say, that the emphatic disclaimer *n'âññaṃ*: 'nothing else' (or 'no one else'), which follows the positive injunction, would, were 'self' to be taken as *we*, here and now, 'naturally' take it, be not *aññha*, but *para-*. This, in the Suttas, is, I believe, the invariable opposite to *atta-*, e.g. *atta-hita*, *para-hita*, *attantapa*, *parantapa*, etc. Here I speak subject to correction and should welcome such if deserved. But with regard to my former point, I maintain, that they who seek to get the true historic place for the 'Buddha's' injunctions can see, that his equating *ātmā-* (spirit) and *dharma-* (inner monitor) is an expansion of the Immanence of his day into a

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new and more dynamic mandate, wherein these two words, at the very heart of his religious quest, are blended into unity.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

A NOTE ON THE DĀMODARPUR GRANT OF THE TIME OF BUDHAGUPTA AND JAYADATTA

One[1] of the five plates of the Gupta period, discovered at Dāmodarpur in the Dīnājpur Dist., Bengal, reads (ll. 5–9):

श्रेष्ठि रि(ऋ)भुपालेन विज्ञापितं हिमवच्छिखरे कोकामुखस्वामिनः चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनोऽपि सप्त-कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशन्सि(शंसि)नो पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृद्धये डोङ्गा-ग्रापे(मे) पूर्व्वं मया अप्रदा अतिसृष्टकास्तदहन्तत् क्षेत्रसामीप्य-भूमौ तयोराद्य-कोकामुखस्वामि-श्वेतवराहस्वामिनोर्नामल्लिङ्गमेकं देवकुलद्वयमेतत्कोष्ठिकाद्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छाम्यर्हथ वास्तुना सह कुल्यवापान्यथाक्रयमर्य्यादया दातुमिति

Thus the Śeṣṭhin Ṛbhupāla is said to have formerly granted at Ḍoṅgā-grāma in Himavacchikhara 4 *kulyavāpas* (*kuṛobā*=*bighā*) of land for the enjoyment of the god Kokāmukhasvāmin and 7 *kulyavāpas* for the enjoyment of the god Śvetavarāhasvāmin. Now the same Ṛbhupāla was willing to make one Nāmalliṅga and two Devakulas (temples) with two Koṣṭhikās (treasure-houses) of the two gods Ādya-Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin, near the lands previously granted. The meaning of the word *nāmalliṅga* has not been explained; it also remains unexplained why one Nāmalliṅga was made when there were two gods. I am inclined to believe that there is reference to a Liṅga (the phallic emblem of Śiva) in the word *nāmalliṅga* and that, of the two gods Ādya-Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin, at least one is no other than a form of Śiva. Since Varāha is known to have been an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Śvetavarāhasvāmin must be a form of Viṣṇu. We may then look for a form of Śiva in the other god Ādya-Kokāmukhasvāmin. One of the epithets of Durgā, wife of Śiva, is Ādyā. In the *Mahābhārata* (VI, 23, 8), Durgā is also given the name Kokāmukhā. It may therefore be not altogether impossible that the masculine form Ādya-Kokāmukha indicates Śiva, husband of Durgā.

I am inclined to take the word that has been read *nāmalliṅga* as *nāma-liṅga*. This word however generally means 'nouns and their

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 138f.

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gender'. But there is reason to believe that it also denotes a Liṅga with a particular name (generally of the devotee who is responsible for its construction and establishment). There are several references to *sva-nāma-liṅga* or *sv-ākhya-liṅga* (a Liṅga named after one's own self) in records like the Malkāpur inscription (Śaka 1183) of the time of Kākatīya Rudramma. This record[1] speaks with reference to the Śaiva ascetic Viśveśvara:

(*a*) निर्माय स्वाख्य-लिङ्गम्मठमपि नगरे मंद्रकूटाभिधाने.....

(*b*) नाम्ना स्वेन स चंद्रवल्लि-नगरे लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य.....

(*c*) सोमूर्य्यामे स्वाख्य-लिङ्ग-प्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा.....

(*d*) उत्तर-सोमग्रिलायां लिङ्गं वैश्वेश्वरं प्रतिष्ठाप्य.....

The Liṅga mentioned in our grant was possibly named after Ṛbhupāla or Ādya-Kokāmukhasvāmin.

If my interpretation is accepted, the above Dāmodarpur grant belonging to the last quarter of the 5th century offers the earliest epigraphic evidence regarding the prevalence of Liṅga worship in Bengal. The devotion of Ṛbhupāla to both Śiva and Viṣṇu would also point to an interesting phase of Pauraṇic Hinduism prevalent at that time.

The village called Doṅga was situated in the sub-division of Himavacchikhara (literally, on the summit of the Himavat, i.e., the Himālayas) in the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya (Dīnājpur region) of the Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti. It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to believe that the hilly region on the northern fringe of Bengal formed a part of the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya at the time of Budhagupta (c. 477–96 A.D.).

D. C. SIRCAR.

ON A VERSE IN THE KHĀLIMPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DHARMAPĀLA

The 13th verse of the Khâlimpur copper-plate grant of Dharmapâla-dêva is an interesting study from the standpoint of polity and administration in early Bengal:

Gôpaiḥ sîmni vanacarair=vanabhubi grâm=ôpakaṇṭhe janaiḥ
Kṛîḍadbhiḥ prati-catvaraṁ siśu-gaṇaiḥ pratyâpaṇaṁ mânapaiḥ।
Lîlâ-vêśmani pañcar=ôdara-śukair=udgîtam=âtma-stavaṁ
Yasy=âkarṇayata strapâ-vivalitâ-namraṁ sadaiv=ânanaṁ॥

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[1] *Kākatīya-saṃcika* (Telugu), Rajahmundry, inscription No. 31.

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This has been translated by Prof. Kielhorn as follows:

'Hearing his praises sung by the cowherds on the borders, by the foresters in the forests, by the villagers on the outskirts of villages, by the playing groups of children in every court-yard, in every market by the guardians of the weights and in pleasure-houses by the parrots in the cages, he (Dharmapâla) always bashfully turns aside and bows down his face.' (*Ep. Ind.*, IV. 252.)

In the *Naiṣadhîya* of Śriharṣa, we read in a verse (I. 103) that 'Clever parrots let loose by people in the garden, after having trained them for the purpose, chanted his (King Nala's) praise; sparrows, too, made likewise singers of his might, sang to him with the nectarine melody of their voice.'[1] (Tr. by Mr. K. K. Handiqui, of the *Naishadhacarita*, p. 13.)

So parrots and the like birds used to be trained in those days to sing the praises of a king. In case of Dharmapâla, we find that little children also were tutored to glorify the king, even while playing with each other. But why the villagers, foresters and others sang, and even the children and birds were made to sing, the praises of the King? The motive behind these was evidently and indubiously to popularize the king within his kingdom, that had come into being ere long, and these were, therefore, all a political measure on the part of the King and his government.

The word *gôpa*, as in the above passage from the inscription, has perhaps to be translated as 'village superintendent' rather than 'cowherd', since the causal connection between *cowherds* and *frontiers of a kingdom* cannot be made out in any effective sense. The *Amara-kôśa* explains the term *gôpa* as 'an officer to supervise a group of (or many) villages (*Gôpô grâmêṣu bhûriṣu*, under *Kṣatriya-varga*), while in the *Artha-śâstra* of Kauṭilya the explanation given is: 'A Gopa shall keep the accounts of ten households, twenty households or forty households.' (Tr. Shamasastry, 1st ed., p. 181.) What would thus seem to indicate is that the *gôpas* or village superintendents, no doubt in the royal employ, on the borders or frontiers of the kingdom, used to extol the King and celebrate him, with the manifest object of discouraging possibilities of rising against him by the frontier tribes.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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[1] *Tad=artham=adhyâpya janêna tad-vanê*
Śukâ vimuktâḥ paṭavastam=astuvan |
Svarâmṛtên=ôpajaguśca śârikâ
Stath=aiva tat-pauruṣa gâyanîkṛtâḥ || I. 103.

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SOME POPULAR DERIVATIONS IN JAIN LITERATURE

(a) *Brāhmaṇa and his yajñopavīta.*

Once Bhagavān Ṛṣabha went to Aṣṭāpada hill and resided there. Bharata, hearing that his brothers had left the world, was afflicted with grief..... He now thought of doing religious duty by giving food and drink to Ṛṣabha and his followers, so he brought various kinds of food in five hundred carts and invited him, but the latter rejected it on the ground that food thus brought (being *ādhākarma* or *āhākamma*, food cooked for Jain Sadhus) was not acceptable to *yatis* [1]. On another occasion Bharata invited him to take food which was not specially meant for them, and yet the sage did not accept it for it was given by king and therefore not proper (*rājapiṇḍo' pyakalpanīya* [2]). He was exceedingly perturbed, thinking that he was forsaken by the sage. To assuage his sorrow Indra asked the sage about the fit objects of gift (*avagraha* [3]), which the sage classified as fivefold, viz., devendrāvagraha, rājāvagraha, gṛhapatyavagraha, sāgarikāvagraha and sādharmikāvagraha. Bharata asked Śakra : 'I have brought food and drink, what is to be done?' He said, 'With it worship those who have better qualifications than you'. He then found out that the *śrāvakas* were better than him, so he gave the food to them. Seeing the bright form of Devendra he asked how the gods looked like in devaloka. Devendra said, 'No human eye can endure their brightness'. Bharata requested him to satisfy his curiosity by showing him a part, however little, of such form. This was conceded by Śakra who showed him an exceedingly bright finger properly adorned with ornament, Bharata was much pleased and worshipped the form of Śakra's finger for eight days, thus arose the *Śakrotsava* or *dhvajotsava.*

Bharata then told the Śrāvakas—'(1) Daily you should eat my food, (2) you must not occupy yourself with agriculture, etc., (3) you should remain devoted to *svādhyāya* (scriptural study), and (4) when you have eaten your food, you should stand near my door and say—'you are conquered, fear increases, therefore don't kill, don't kill' (*jito bhavān, vardhate bhayaṃ tasmān mā hana mā haneti*). Bharata used to be immersed in enjoyment, he was therefore heedless. He wanted somebody to remind him of his supreme duty. Now when he heard the warning he enquired, 'By whom am I conquered'?, and was told 'By passions, from them fear increases'. He thus developed longing for liberation.

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[1] *Paṇha*, 2. 3; *Ṭhāṇaṅga*, 3, 4.
[2] *Saṁavāyāṅga*, 39.
[3] *Paṇha*, 1, 3.

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Meanwhile, as the number of feeders increased, the cooks reported to Bharata, 'Sir, owing to increase in the number of feeders we cannot distinguish a Śrāvaka from one who is not'. Bharata asked them to give food after enquiry..... Ultimately those who observed the seven *sikṣa vratas* were indicated by the king as such, by the insignia of *kākaṇis*.[1] An inspection was made every six months, and those who passed the test were similarly invested with the insignia. Thus arose the Brāhmaṇas. They sent their sons to sages who gave them *pravrajyā*, those who were afraid of undergoing penances (*pariṣaha*) remained to be *śrāvakas*. Ādityayaśas[2] had no *kākaṇis*, so he made sacred threads of gold; Mahāyaśas[3] and his successors made threads of silver, and threads of various other materials, e.g. jute[4], etc. (ityevaṃ yajñopavīta-prasiddhi)! As Bharata honoured the Māhanas (Brāhmaṇas), people began to give alms to them. For their studies he also made the (Aryan) Vedas, which were in the form of praise to Tīrthakaras, and meant for instructing the Śrāvakas, in their *dharma*, the non-Aryan Vedas being subsequently made by Sulasa, Yājñavalkya, etc.

Ṛṣabha attained Nirvāṇa at Aṣṭāpada, the gods came meanwhile, and made three fire-pits—*citās*, circular, triangular and square in form, placed on the east, south and west (for tīrthakaras, Ikṣākus and others). The Agnikumāra gods threw fire with their mouths (hence it is famed in the world that *agnimukhā vai devāh*); the Vāyukumāra gods released the winds; when the flesh and blood were burnt up, the Meghakumāra gods extinguished the fire with scented *kṣīroda* water, Śakra took the sage's right cheek bone, Īśāna the left cheek bone, Camara and Bali lower cheek bones, the remaining gods took the remaining bones; the kings took the ashes, other people drew the *puṇḍraka* signs (*pauṇḍrakāni cakruh*) with the ashes. As a memorial to Ṛṣabhanātha Bharata caused a temple to be made by carpenters, also temples for the remaining Jinas, placed therein

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[1] According to Hargovind Das Sheth's *Pāiyasaddamahaṇṇavo*, *Kākaṇi* is Kāgani which means (1) Kingdom, (2) a small piece of flesh. But if it be taken to be equivalent to *Kāgaṇi*, then it is *Kāgiṇi* (*Kākinī*) meaning (1) Cowrie, (2) Coin of the value of 20 cowries, (3) a kind of gem. Probably they were to wear a gem as a distinctive insignia.

[2] Son of Bharata, from whom sprang the *Sūryyavaṃśa* as a branch of the Ikṣāku lineage, cf. Paumacaria and Surasundarīcaria.

[3] A grandson of Bharata, *Ṭhānaṅga* 8, p. 429.

[4] The Hindus also used various materials for *Yajñopavīta*:

Kārpāsakṣaumagobāla saṇavakratṛṇobdhavaṃ.।
Sadāsambhavato dhāryamupavītaṃ dvijātibhih ॥

—Nigamapariśiṣṭaṃ in Smriticandrikā, quoted in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, p. 137.

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images—of proper colour and height—of 24 tīrthakaras; he made image of his 100 brothers and of himself; moreover he built 100 stupas, he also made (for protecting them) machine-men (yantra-puruṣān—robots?) of iron.....

How the beggars became *āhitāgnayah* is explained:—When the devas had taken the cheek bones of Bhagavān Ṛṣabha, the Śrāvakas begged the devas with great devotion (bhakti) who said—'*aho, yācakāh*', thus they became famous, then taking the fire they established it in their own homes, therefore they became famous as *āhitāgnayah*.....

The above account given of the Brāhmaṇa as an ordinary and popular figure and his several well-known attributes and characteristics, viz., that he devotes himself to scriptural study and does not take to agriculture, he is usually fed by others and lives upon charity (begging, yācakā), he wears the sacred thread as his distinctive identification as one of the twice-born and puts on sectarian marks on his forehead, and he tends fire—shows an eagerness to ascribe all these to Jain sources. This may be an honest attempt. But a Hindu will scarcely be able to shake himself free from the feeling that this is a subtle, yet not quite cryptic way of mocking the Brāhman and his religion, perhaps a prelude to the more aggressive ridicule displayed later on by the author of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. To a Sanskritist a Brāhman is he who knows Brāhman. The root from which Brāhman (and therefore Brāhmaṇa) [1] is derived cannot in any way be connected with the root *han* and be stretched to yield *Māhaṇa* in the sense of 'do not kill', or 'one who does not kill' or 'one who is averse to himsā, and therefore a muni, sādhu, ṛṣi.'

It seems to me that the above-mentioned derivation of *māhana* is an example of folk-etymology and an endeavour or pretend that it has no connection with Brāhmaṇa. Many a Brāhmaṇa may have deviated from the ideal, may be miles away from Brāhman, may be a degenerate scamp, such as one depicted in the Dasabrāhmana-jātaka, but all this would not provide the justification to connect him in grammar with '*mā hana*' in the Jain sense! A Hindu who knows the real significance of the *yajñopavīta* [2] and *āhitāgni* will be tickled with mild amusement at the curious Jain derivation. He will be stunned at the news that there are two kinds of Vedas—the Aryan and the non-Aryan (in the ordinary sense to which he has been accustomed), and will think that this innovation has outdone what has been attempted in Pāli-Buddhistic literature to discredit

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[1] See the article entitled 'Brāhman—Baresman—Bricht—Bhraj' by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, in the Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, Vol. II, p. 166.

[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 135–39.

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the Vedas. Agni carries the *havya* to the gods and is therefore called their mouth, but he will now learn from the interpretation that he is so called (*agnimukhā vai devāh*) because the Agnikumāra gods threw fire with their mouths!

K. P. MITRA.

NOTE ON SOME PUNCH MARKED COINS OF MYSORE MUSEUM

In the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Mysore*, 1936, Dr. M. H. Krishna, the indefatigable Director of Archæology of the Mysore State, has recently described nineteen Punch Marked coins acquired by the Mysore Museum.[1] I take this opportunity of publishing a note on them, which should be regarded as supplementing the labours of the learned Director, and which in no way a slur on his abilities. Eight of these coins were collected by Mr. E. Thurston in Bimlipatan *taluka*, of the Vizagapatam district, the findspots of the rest are unknown.

My first complaint against Dr. Krishna is that, he has used certain terms, in describing these symbols, which seem to the present writer to be antiquated and does not properly perform their functions. That is, they do not properly describe the symbols. The most notable of these is the so-called *chaitya* symbol. Then there is another which he designates as 'Troy symbol'. It must, however, be admitted that I have acted under a great handicap, because I had no opportunity to examine the coins, and had to solely depend on the plates of Dr. Krishna's work; which though good, does not show all the symbols described by him. The weights and measurements have been omitted, as they would be needless repetitions. The sun has been made the starting point of a clock-wise description, whenever it occurs.

Regarding the *Chaitya* symbol, it behoves me to point out that, the question, whether it represents a mountain or a *chaitya* has been discussed threadbare. It is found associated with animals like dogs, bulls; plants, peacock and crescent; when it becomes meaningless to consider these representations as that of a *chaitya*. Sometimes an object, regarded as reliquaries by Theobold [2] are found within the arches. These we have described as 'double-axe'.[3] The evidence

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[1] Pp. 47–53.

[2] Theobold—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1890.

[3] John Allan considers it to be another form of mountain. The suggestion was made to me by N. G. Majumdar.

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in favour of the symbol being regarded as that of mountains in general, has been summed up by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Dr. L. D. Barnet.[1] Mr. John Allan too, in a long dissertation agrees with this view.[2]

The troy symbol seems to be a new innovation by Dr. Krishna. Theobold described it as *chattras* and the taurines, and he was followed by Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, while describing the Patna and Gorhoghat hoards.[3] The more rational view is put forward by Mr. Allan, who considers them to be arrows and who has produced many other varieties of the same symbol, which taken into consideration makes the term 'Troy symbol' meaningless.[4]

1. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Indistinct, only a sphere with a projecting arm visible, (*d*) of Dr. Krishna.
(*c*) Scales with weights on either side.
(*d*) Sphere with alternate arrows and taurines (Pellet surrounded by a circle as observed by Allan is not distinguishable here, Allan, Introd., p. xxiii).
(*e*) Mountain surmounted by peacock.

Reverse:—

(*a*) Indistinct, probably a small flower.
(*b*) Indistinct (see pl. xxi of the *Report*).

2. Obverse:—

Not very distinct on the plate.

Reverse:—

Not very distinct on the plate.

3. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Animal (Elephant ?) to right.
(*c*) Cross with two taurines on either side (partially visible). I am not certain that really it is a cross, it might be a hammer.
(*d*) Sphere with alternate arrows and taurines within circles.
(*e*) Mountain surmounted by (?).

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[1] *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, NF., vol. iv, pp. 175–9. *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. lviii, p. 20.
[2] John Allan—*Catalogue of Indian Coins in British Museum. London*, 1936, Introd., pp. xxiv–xxvi. *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. xix, pp. 153–83. Section on symbols.
[3] *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1919, pp. 16f. and 443f.
[4] Allan—*op. cit.*, pp. xxiii-iv.

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Reverse:—

(*a*) Wheel.
(*b*) Leaf.
Rest not visible on plate.

4. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Sphere with alternate arrows and taurines within circles.
(*c*)
(*d*)
(*e*) Doubtful.
(*f*)

Reverse:—

(*a*) Pellet within a circle.
Rest unidentifiable by me.

5. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Mountain with a dog at the top.
(*c*) Sphere with alternate arrows and taurines.
(*d*) Indistinct.
(*e*) Caduceus (partially visible).

Reverse:—

Defaced.

6. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Sphere with alternate arrows and taurines within circles.
(*c*) Animal to right.
(*d*) Indistinct.
(*e*) Uncertain.

Reverse:—

Defaced on the plate.

7. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Cobra with hood upraised.
(*c*) Three arches placed side by side, with the central one the tallest.
(*d*) Sphere with alternate arrows and taurines.
(*e*) Indistinct.

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Reverse:—

Leaf (?).

8. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Indistinct.
(*c*) Tree within railing(?).
(*d*) Mountain(?).

Reverse:—

Defaced.

9. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Sphere with alternate arrows and (?).
(*c*) Indistinct.
(*d*) Scroll design(?), with a bar below (River?).

Reverse:—

Unidentifiable on plate.

10, 11, 12, no attempts made by the writer.

13. Obverse:—

(*a*) Sun.
(*b*) Caduceus.

I could not make out the rest.

Reverse:—

Blank.

14. Obverse:—

Two parallel bars placed horizontally. Rest appears defaced on the plate.

Reverse:—

Defaced.

15. Obverse:—

(*a*) Svastika with dots at angles.
(*b*) Elephant to right.
(*c*) Same as (*a*).
(*d*) ? Surrounded by dots.

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Reverse:—

(*a*) Square divided into four compartments each containing a (?).
(*b*) Indistinct.
(*c*) Do.
(*d*) Do.

16. Obverse:—

(*a*) Elephant to right.
(*b*) Three spheres placed in triangular position joined by curves surrounded by dots.
(*c*) Crocodile.
(*d*) Same as (*b*).

Reverse:—

Not distinct on plate.

17. Obverse:—

(*a*) Tree.
(*b*) Circle with projecting bars and dots.
(*c*) Elephant to right.
(*d*) Same as (*b*).

Reverse:—

Blank.

18. Obverse:—

(*a*) Hind part of an animal.
(*b*) Indistinct.
(*c*) Do.
(*d*) Do.

Reverse:—

Defaced.

19. Obverse:—

(*a*) Elephant to left with hemispherical objects above.
(*b*) Four circles in a triangular form.
(*c*) Palm leaf.
(*d*) Sphere surrounded by six circles.

Reverse:—

Blank.

ADRIS BANERJI.

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ŚAKA PATI—ŚAKA ĀCĀRYA

Mr. Dasaratha Sarma who writes about the Śaka rival of Rāmagupta in the *Indian Culture*, V, iii, pp. 328–338, has evidently not seen my contribution on the Devīcandragupta in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. II, no. i, pp. 23–54 and Vol. II, no. ii, p. 307. Mr. Dasaratha Sarma has made his criticism of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and what is more, of Śankarārya even in his Note in the *Journal of Indian History, Madras*, and is now adding in this Note in the *Indian Culture* only the unnecessary explanation of the transition of *Pati* into *Ācārya via Svāmin*. Mr. Sarma's objection to Śankarārya's explanation of Śaka pati as Śaka ācārya has been criticized by me on pp. 45-46 of my article in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. II, no. i. It was not because Śankarārya knew less that he rendered Śaka *pati* as Śaka *ācārya*, but because he knew more. Is it likely that neither Dr. Bhandarkar is right in taking the Śaka as purely an Ācārya, a religious head, nor is Mr. Sarma right in taking the Śaka as purely a Pati, a secular head, and that the Śaka head was both a religious and secular head (पतिस्सन् आचार्यः or आचार्यस्सन् पतिः)?

I have not been able to find evidence for such a state of affairs amongst ancient Śakas or other non-Indian tribes in which both religious as well as secular headship vested in one person, but I have been able to unearth two passages from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, according to which heads of the Mlecchas, political and secular heads, were called Mlecca *Ācāryas*. When king Daśaratha called his paurajānapadas and subordinate kings to consider the installation of Rāma as yuvarāja, Vālmīki says that around Daśaratha sat kings from the East, kings from the North, kings from the South, kings from the West, *Mleccha ācāryas*, and those holding sway over forests and mountains:

अथ तत्र समासीनास्तदा दशरथं नृपम् ।
प्राच्योदीच्याः प्रतीच्याश्च दाक्षिणात्याश्च भूमिपाः ॥
म्लेच्छाचार्याश्च ये चान्ये वनशैलान्तवासिनः ।
उपासांचक्रिरे सर्वे तं देवा इव वासवम् ॥

Ayodhyā, III. 23-24. Kumbhakonam Edn.

While mentioning the several kings who attended the Svayamvara of Citrāṅgada in Kaliṅga, the Rājadharma section of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata says (Citrasala Press Edn. ch. 4. śl. 8):

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एते चान्ये च बहवः दक्षिणां दिशमाश्रिताः ।
म्लेच्छाचार्याश्च राजानः प्राच्योदीच्यास्तथैव च ॥

Mr. Sarma will express wonder at this expression Mlecchа Ācārya even as Sorenson expressed in his Mahābhārata Index, p. 481. But there it is that the ruling heads of the Mlecchas (and the Mlecchas certainly includes the Śakas), whether they held religious headship also or not, were called by the word Ācārya. It is noteworthy that the Mahābhārata mentions kings of all the three directions except the West and with reference to the West, mentions the Mlecchācāryas.

V. RAGHAVAN.

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REVIEWS

LES GRAMMAIRIENS PRAKRITS, by Lugia Nitti Dolci, pp. 227; Paris, 1938.

This treatise on the Prakrit grammarians is indeed one of the best books on Prakrit philology published in recent years, and certainly offers much more than the short chapter in Pischel's 'Grammatik'. It is not a mere account of the authors of Prakrit grammars, as the title of the book might suggest. In it the grammars themselves have been critically examined as to how far they are important from philological point of view. Her chiefest discovery is surely that in connection with Vararuci: she has proved conclusively that only the first nine chapters of this grammar are genuine. Another important discovery of the authoress, which, however, is likely to be contested, is that Vararuci wrote his grammar with the definite purpose of explaining the Gāthās of Hāla's Saptaśataka. Dealing with Bharata, she has disagreed with Jacobi as to the identification of the language of the Druvās with Sauraseni. In her opinion we have to accept the position, however paradoxical it may seem, that according to the Nāṭyaśāstra the personages on the stage should speak in Prakrit resembling Mahārāṣṭrī but sing in Śaurasenī. In the same manner the authoress discusses the eastern grammars, giving in each case all that could be desired both from the historical and philological points of view.

B. K. Ghosh.

LE PRĀKṚTĀNUŚĀSANA DE PURUṢOTTAMA, par Lugia Nitti Dolci; carriers de la Société Asiatique VI; pp. xxvii + 141; Paris, 1938.

Miss Nitti Dolci has given us an excellent edition of Puruṣottama's Prākṛtānuśāsana which is the oldest Prakrit grammar of the eastern school. The text, which has been edited here for the first time on the basis of a single defective Nepalese manuscript, contains a complete translation with copious critical notes. The authoress has ably proved that this Puruṣottama is the same as the famous Bengali Buddhist grammarian who wrote the Bhāṣavṛtti and the Trikāṇḍaśesa. She concludes that already in the year 1159 A.D. a large portion of the Prākṛtānuśāsana must have been in existence, for it is quoted by Vandyaghāṭiya Sarvānanda in his commentary on the Amarakoṣa which is dated in that year. As Puruṣottama, the author of the Bhāṣāvṛtti, was a contemporary of King Lakṣmaṇasena who ascended the throne in the year 1170 A.D., it seems doubtful that the authors of the Prākṛtānuśāsana and the Bhāṣāvṛtti were one and the same person. Even without the help of a commentary, Miss Nitti Dolci has succeeded in reconstructing a perfectly dependable text. The three indexes (of suttas, technical terms, and Sanskrit and Prakrit words) have considerably enhanced the value of this excellent work.

B. K. Ghosh.

SUVARṆAPRABHĀSOTTAMASŪTRA Das Goldglanz-Sūtra; Ein Sanskrit text des Mahayāna-Buddhismus; herausgegeben von Johannes Nobel; with two plates and one table; pp. liii+275 octave; Otto Harrassowitz; Leipzig, 1937.

This magnificent edition of one of the most popular Mahayana Buddhist texts is the result of infinite conscientious labour on the part of Prof. Nobel. The value of the book lies not only in the picture of popular Buddhism of the post-Christian

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era it presents before us; linguistically too this book marks an important advance in our knowledge, for it is surely destined to be classed with Mahāvastu, etc. as one of the texts of Buddhist Sanskrit literature. The difficulties of editing an extensive text, which was hitherto known to us only in Radloff's German translation of its Uigurian version (Bibl. Budh., XVII), will be easily understood when it is remembered that the idiom in which it is composed was far from mixed, and the manuscript materials at the disposal of the editor were wholly inadequate and unsatisfactory. Yet, in the absence of a fixed grammar of the dialect concerned, only the manuscript could serve as a guide to the editor. This text was translated into Chinese for the first time in 414 A.D. by Dharmakṣema and then successively by Paramārtha, Yaśogupta, Jñānagupta and finally by I-tsing about 700 A.D. No less than three Tibetan translations were made of this text, one of which is based on I-tsing's Chinese version. The interrelation between, and the respective merits of, these Chinese and Tibetan versions have been well discussed by the editor. The text had been translated moreover into Aigurian, Soghdian, Kalmuck and 'Khotani Saka'. The text so reconstructed has very little to offer about Buddhistic creed and philosophy.

B. K. Ghosh.

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST, Vol. II : Suvarṇadvīpa Part II : Cultural History, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

The study of Indian colonization outside was in its very infancy when Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the eminent scholar and Indologist, took up the ambitious task of writing a series of books on India's 'Colonial Kingdoms' in the Far East. *Champā*, the first volume of this series had been published as early as the year 1927, while the first part of the second, dealing with the political and administrative history of Suvarṇadvīpa (by which name the author means the whole Malayasia comprising the Malay peninsula and the Malay archipelago) made its appearance in 1937. These two volumes do full credit to the author, who, by his valuable and pioneer researches in the field, has not only built up the reputation of being the best scholar in India fitted for the task, but has also created, under his inspiration, a band of workers devoted to Greater-Indian studies.

The work under review represents the second part of Volume II of the series and deals with the cultural history of Suvarṇadvīpa. It is divided into two books (Books V and VI). The former, under the heading 'Culture and Civilization in Suvarṇadvīpa', discusses such points as Law, Economic Condition, Society, Literature and Religion, as prevalent in different parts of Malayasia. In chapter one the author gives a brief but informative survey of the Civil and Criminal Law and shows how the legal system and codes were to a great extent influenced by Indian ones, with however necessary modifications due to local conditions. In chapter two an account of the trade relations of the different parts of Malayasia, either among themselves or with Indo-China, India, China and even Arabia, has been ably given, along with the possible trade routes and articles of merchandise. In dealing with Society, the author refers to the introduction in these colonies of the Hindu social fabric, based on the system of four castes (*Chaturvarṇa*), and discusses the conditions as prevalent therein. The chapters on Literature and Religion, though brief as compared to the vast range of the subjects, give the most complete but compact survey in these two important branches of study. When outlining the different classes of Indo-Javanese literature the author clearly brings forth their Indian origins and derivations, the amount of Indian influence and the points of derivations due to indigenous influence or adaptations of Indian traditions and mythology. Next he details the gradual

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growth and spread of the Indian religions—both Brahminical and Buddhist—in Malayasia, together with the nature and character of each, and justly observes, 'it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that so far as faiths, beliefs and religious practices are concerned, the colonies in the Far East were almost a replica of the motherland' (p. 99). Particularly interesting is the valuable discussion on the gradual stages in the syncretism of the different religious sects through Tāntrikism, a condition not much unlike in the mainland, especially in Bengal, wherefrom the religious ideas and tendencies appear to have spread to the colonies. An appendix on the religious literature in Java enhances the value of the chapter still more.

Book VI, which represents the major part of the work, deals with the art of Suvarṇadvīpa. Space forbids us in taking even a cursory glance of the many important features of this section, which is well documented with representative illustrations and very ably treated. We shall confine ourselves to an enumeration of the main subjects of study. Java, where, of all islands of the group, has been discovered the largest number of monuments, has five chapters devoted to her art. The history of Indo-Javanese art has been divided into two broad periods—Central-Javanese (700 to 900 A.D.) and East-Javanese (1200 to 1500 A.D.), architecture and sculpture of each period being treated separately and the fifth chapter being devoted to a study of the bronze sculptures, of which quite a large number has been found in Java. Then we have a chapter treating the art of Bali, a small island, but no less famous, where the different stages in artistic evolution can be definitely marked. Next comes the art of Sumatra, where recent archæological explorations are turning out specimens of considerable importance for the study of Indo-Colonial art in general. Borneo and the Malay peninsula have got a chapter each for the objects of art found therein, while another chapter takes note of the metal sculptures of unmistakable Indian influence, found so far off as the Philippine islands and the island of Celebes. In every one of these chapters the author, with a succinct description of the representative monuments, tries to bring home his points and the thesis of direct Indian influence in the earlier periods being gradually modified by indigenous influences and conditions has been successfully put forward. The concluding chapter gives a general review of the art of Suvarṇadvīpa along with an illuminating discussion as to its sources during the successive phases. The common belief of South-Indian origin has now to be discarded and the unmistakable influence of Gupta traditions through Eastern India, analyzed with great care and skill, must be regarded as a useful addition to our knowledge of Indo-Colonial art and architecture.

A true historian in method and outlook, the author has based this sumptuous survey of the cultural history of Suvarṇadvīpa on a critical analysis of the original sources, both native and foreign (Chinese and Arabic), and on the interpretations of the European workers, specially the Dutch savants, in the field. No available source of information has been left out of consideration and every datum has been utilized with singular care and discernment. Previous opinions and theories have been discussed in detail and accepted or rejected with full reasons thereof. The section on art is thoroughly documented by a large number of well-chosen, but not always well-reproduced, plates, the latter fact forming a rather serious drawback in this otherwise successful publication.

Along with part I the work under review constitutes an excellent compendium for the history of Suvarṇadvīpa—both political and cultural. We congratulate the learned author on his laudable project and request him to bear in mind that, in view of the eminent success he has achieved in the three works already published, the completion of the series, of which he feels rather diffident on account of the heavy pressure of administrative duties, is a great desideratum, for which the public would be eagerly waiting.

SARASI SARASWATI.

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THE ANTIQUITY OF THE BUDDHA-IMAGE: THE CULT OF THE BUDDHA, by O. C. Gangoly.

This valuable little monograph on the antiquity of the Buddha image contributed to the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (Neue Folge XIV, Heft 2/3) should be read by every student of Buddhism. The author has successfully tackled the most difficult problem of the chronology of the earliest specimens of Buddha image. He has ransacked all the available evidences, literary and monumental, in giving full justice to this interesting subject. His remarks on the cult of the Buddha have been supported by evidences from earlier and later Buddhist works. He has bestowed much labour on the fulfilment of the object of his enquiry as to the origin of the cult of Buddha image. The author deserves our best thanks for the successful treatment of such a difficult subject. This short treatise offers many new suggestions and repays perusal.

B. C. LAW.

THE KṚṢṆA-KARṆĀMṚTA OF LĪLĀŚUKA (Bengal Recension) with three Sanskrit commentaries of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava School, the Kṛṣṇa-Vallabhā of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the Subodhanī of Caitanyadāsa and the Sāraṅga-raṅgadā of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, critically edited by Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt. Dacca University Oriental Publication Series, No. 5. Published by the University of Dacca, 1938. Pages lxxxvii+384.

The product of untiring energy and deep knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature, the work under review opens with a thoroughly critical and comprehensive introduction which evincing, as it does, the soundness of Dr. De's judgment and criticism, is followed by a detailed description of manuscripts and printed editions on which the present text is based. Here again we have ample evidence of the learned editor's characteristic dexterity in collation. The Kṛṣṇa Karṇāmṛta is a 'remarkable collection (Kośa-Kāvya) of erotico-mystic lyrics of considerable devotional fervour on the romantic theme of Kṛṣṇa, and holds a high place in the history of mediæval Stotra literature'. There are three appendices: the first quotes additional verses given in the Second and Third Āśvāsas of Pāpayallaya Sūri's text (South Indian version); the second, additional verses given in Bilvamaṅgala-Kośa-Kāvya and Kṛṣṇa-Stotra; and the third, additional verses ascribed in anthologies and in some Bengal Vaiṣṇava works. The usefulness of the publication has been greatly enhanced by five indexes: (1) index of verses in the text and of verses not found in Pāpayallaya Sūri's text of First Āśvāsa; (2) index of metres; (3) index of verses in Pāpayallaya Sūri's Second and Third Āśvāsas (as given in appendix I); (4) index of verses of Bilvamaṅgala-Kośa-Kāvya and Kṛṣṇa-Stotra (as given in appendix II); and (5) index of verses and citations in the commentaries.

B. C. LAW.

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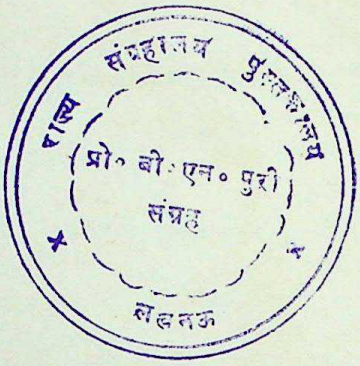

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